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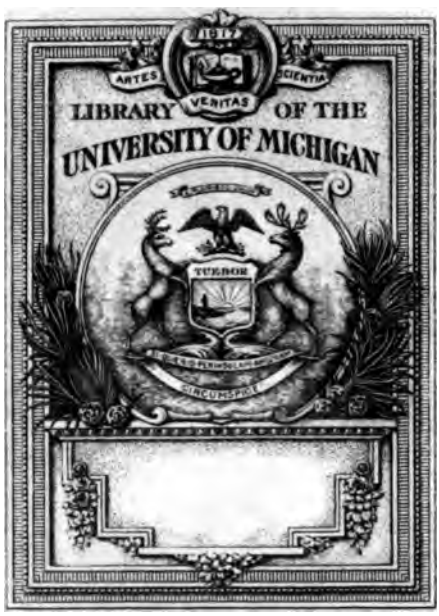
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A HISTORY OF MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN EUROPE





A HISTORY

OF

MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN EUROPE

BY

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PREFACE

To the American pupil the history of Europe is important because it is also the early history of his own people. In the older Europe lie the beginnings of American civilization, institutions as well as religious customs, literature, and habits of thought. But it is difficult to explain the development of Europe since the downfall of the Roman Empire within the somewhat rigorous limits assigned to a text-book. A brief text-book has the advantage of making possible a larger use of books for supplementary reading, which are constantly increasing in numbers and utility. One of the conditions of brevity is the omission of many facts which are ordinarily explained or at least mentioned. The principle of selection adopted in the preparation of this book has been the value of the fact in explaining the Europe of the present day and in showing the course of its development. Emphasis has also been laid upon geographical facts in order that the geography of Europe already studied in the elementary school may be reviewed and explained, as it must necessarily be in the study of the historical facts which lie behind the present frontier lines or the condition of modern nations.

The attempt has been made to narrate the history of the more important countries together in chronological order, instead of giving to each a separate treatment, and so obliging the reader to move forward and backward along the chronological series and, by an unusual effort of attention, make the necessary correlation of events, or fail to gain an adequate conception of the progress of Europe as a whole. Many events in one country directly affected events in another or at least illustrated similar tendencies in thought or in institutions.

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The result of the attempt to narrate the history of Europe in this way may occasionally seem to lack the compactness and clearness of a separate treatment, but it should possess the advantages of a larger unity, making intelligible what might otherwise seem the consequence of individual caprice or of chance. This method should also accustom the pupil to group events, in order by discovering their relations to gain more of their meaning.

To the pictures and maps have been added explanations and descriptions which should render them more useful. Several of the maps are, with the consent of the publishers, reproduced with modifications from Freeman's *Historical Geography of Europe*. Two or three are based upon maps in Droysen's *Handatlas*. In making modifications Lane-Poole's *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe* and Longnon's *Atlas Historique de la France* have been constantly consulted. The author's thanks are due to Professor S. B. Platner for permission to use a picture of the Wall of Aurelian which appeared in his *Ancient Rome*.

The author has been greatly assisted by the suggestions of Professor Edward G. Bourne, of Yale University, and of Dr. W. S. Robertson, of Western Reserve University, who have read the book in manuscript, and of Dr. E. J. Benton, of Western Reserve University, who has read the proof-sheets. No one of these gentlemen is, however, responsible for any errors which remain uncorrected.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

CLEVELAND,
August 1, 1905.

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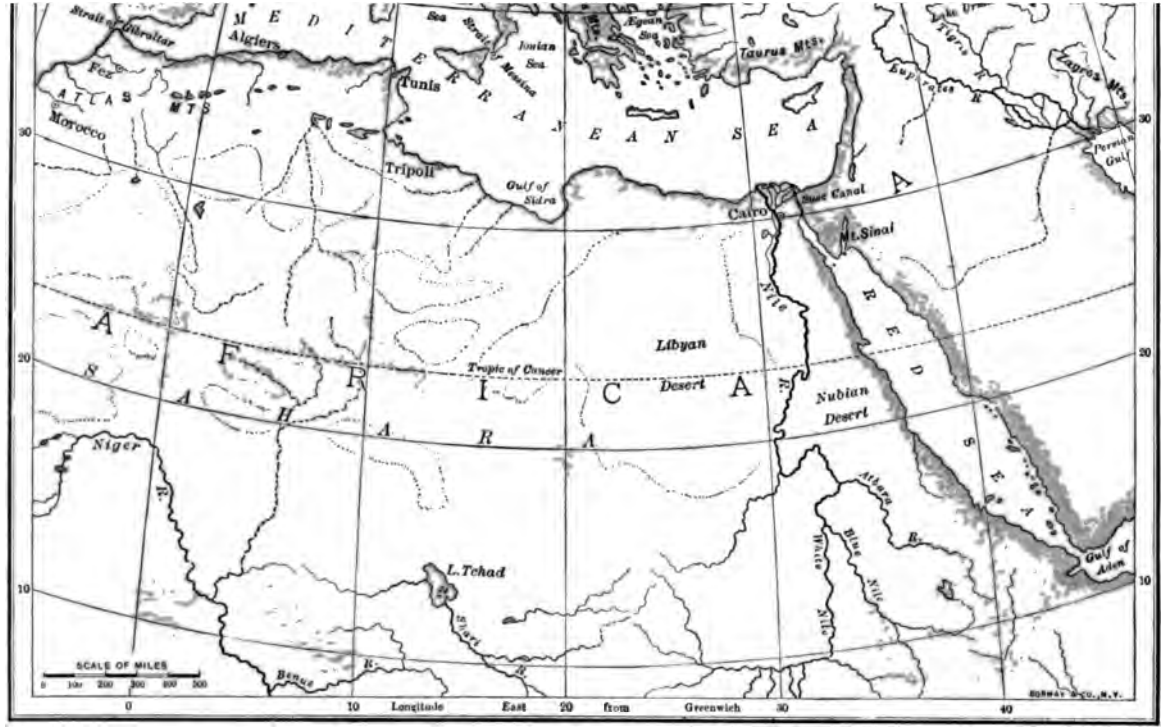
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ARCTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
Strait of Denmark
ICELAND
Arctic Circle
North Cape
Kara Sea
Gulf of Obi
Gulf of Bothnia
White Sea
Dwina R.
L. Onega
L. Ladoga
Stockholm
St. Petersburg
Volga R.
Kama R.
Moscow
Gulf of Riga
Skagerrack
Edinburgh
NORTH SEA
Copenhagen
BALTIC SEA
London
Amsterdam
Weser R.
Elbe R.
Berlin
Oder R.
Vistula R.
St. George's Channel
English Channel
Brussels
Paris
Seine R.
Loire R.
Prague
CARPATHIAN MTS.
Dniester R.
Pruth R.
Bay of Biscay
Bordeaux
Lyons
Vienna
Danube R.
Buda-Pest
ALPS
Milan
Trieste
Venice
Belgrade
Drave R.
Save R.
Cantabrian Mts.
PYRENEES
Caucasus Mts.
Sea of Azof
BLACK SEA
Dnieper R.
Don R.
Volga R.
Ural R.
Ural Mts.
ASIA
EUROPE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
C. Finisterre
Mt. Hekla


Strait of Gibraltar
Algiers
Fez
ATLAS MTS
Morocco
Tunis
Ionian Sea
Aegean Sea
Taurus Mts.
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Zagros Mts.
Persian Gulf
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tripoli
Gulf of Sidra
Suez Canal
Cairo
Mt. Sinai
Nile R.
RED SEA
AFRICA
Libyan Desert
Tropic of Cancer
Nubian Desert
Niger R.
Atbara R.
Blue Nile R.
L. Tchad
Gulf of Aden
Benue R.
SCALE OF MILES
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10
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20
from Greenwich
30
40





INTRODUCTION

The Aim of History. — Some eminent men have disparaged the study of history because its facts cannot be systematized and the laws of the progress or decay of civilization deduced from them in the same manner and with the same exactness as the laws of physics and chemistry have been deduced from what are called chemical or physical facts. The causes of any single event, not to speak of the condition of a whole country at a particular time, are so many and so various that they cannot be isolated and examined as is the case with facts which belong to the world of natural science. Certain of them could not be measured exactly were it possible to study them separately. The decision of Robert E. Lee to resign his commission in the United States Army and follow his State in her attempt to withdraw from the Union was momentous, but the weight of each of the reasons which influenced him could not be mechanically determined nor exactly estimated, nor could the resulting decision have been predicted with scientific certainty. Nevertheless, history offers at least partial explanations of even such events, which depend so much upon individual character. As for events of another sort, the method of electing a president in this country or the system of cabinet government in England, history explains how these came to be, and the exact manner in which they were developed shows, better than any other form of reasoning, what is the real meaning of the custom or institution and whether it is the result of passing intrigues or of tendencies lying deep in the experience of the people. Among the school studies those which concern mankind most closely, language or literature, political economy or civil government, depend upon history for many services. Some literary works more than others require

an historical explanation, but it is safe to say that all are better understood if the age when they were produced is also understood. The relations of political economy and of civics to history are still closer. Political economy is becoming more and more what is called economic history, that is, the history of those activities of men which result in the production and distribution of wealth. Civics treats of the political activities of men in municipality, state, and nation, or describes the institutions which have grown out of these efforts. It needs no argument to prove the value of history in the study of such subjects; it furnishes one of their principal methods of investigation as well as a multitude of illustrations of what they aim to explain. History cannot, therefore, be considered, as formerly, a polite study, of little utility save to amuse the leisure of the idle or to offer an occasional anecdote to enliven conversation.

Supplementary Reading. — History will not perform these services if historical knowledge is limited to what may be learned from the text-book. A text-book like this, which attempts to explain fifteen hundred years of European development, can do little more than summarize the most important events, awaken an interest in such facts, and suggest lines of further inquiry. The pupil should consider his study of history in school mainly as the beginning of a systematic course of reading which is to be one of the sources of instruction and intellectual pleasure of his later years. The text-book will furnish a temporary framework for facts, to be enlarged and improved as his knowledge increases. During schooldays he should also learn how to use other books and should acquire the habit of reading historical works of real literary interest. Affixed to each chapter of this book are two lists of books,— brief manuals, convenient for obtaining more detailed statements or further explanations of what is alluded to in the text, and larger works, many of them chosen from permanent historical literature. It is not expected that the pupil shall look up all the references suggested under "Further Study."

Supplementary reading to be made effective must be under careful individual direction. It is better that pupils be sent to these books to search for answers to a particular query, or to obtain different points of view about an event or policy, or more details of a special incident. If a student is prompted by personal interest to do this "outside" reading independently, so much the better, but it should not be made a uniform requirement. Many of the books referred to are of such a character that they will be useful primarily in assisting the teacher rather than the pupil.

Selections from the Sources. — The books most commonly referred to under "Further Study" are collections of passages taken from what are called "original sources," that is, from documents, letters, or other writings which appeared near the time at which the event touched upon occurred. Occasionally the writing may be a part of the event, as Pope Urban's speech at Clermont was a good part of the origin of the First Crusade. As the selections in such books have been made with the needs of the pupil and the requirements of the subject both in mind, these books are, on the whole, the most useful for supplementary reading. It is not expected that the pupil shall become an historical investigator or that he shall acquire any large part of his knowledge from original material, but in these selections he will often find the best illustrations of the topics he is studying, and presented in a form which adds a peculiar interest to what is said. Selections from the Koran make Mohammedanism more real than do ordinary explanations. The explanations are necessary, for without them the pupil could do little with original material of some kinds, but this material may add an element of actuality or bring out an interesting point of view. In using these selections it is advisable for the teacher to give specific questions for search. Vague reading here is of as little value as vague reading of anything else. The results of these inquiries should be written in note-books, in order that they may be made concise and clear.

The Use of Dates. — Chronology and geography have always been called the eyes of history. Dates are primarily useful in keeping the elementary facts of a period in their exact time relations until their less obvious causal relations can be studied with care. A few dates are of such importance that they should be fixed permanently in the memory. Many of the more significant dates are mentioned in the list at the end of each chapter.

History and Geography. — In the study of history it is necessary to refer constantly to maps, — to the map of the world as it is to-day, because this is a summary of many of the consequences the causes of which history explains; to maps showing how the world or some portion of it appeared after important changes had been made in the boundaries of peoples; and to relief or physical maps which give an idea of different countries, whether flat or mountainous, waterless or full of rivers. There are also maps which show how the world looked to geographers at the time when they were drawn, in many cases while knowledge of the earth was still incomplete. Maps made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries enable us to appreciate the difficulties of navigating unknown seas or of sailing along coasts not yet noted on the charts. The representation given in Map 2, of this volume, of the world as it appeared to Ptolemy reveals the fact that the Romans had conquered about all of the lands of which they had definite knowledge. In using historical maps it should be remembered that as changes in boundary lines have been made frequently, a small collection of maps can portray the situation only after important incidents like an unusually great war or the emigration of peoples. M. Longnon in his *Historical Atlas of France* includes seventeen maps of Gaul for the period between the later years of Chlodwig and the accession of Charlemagne. Only such large atlases can give with satisfactory completeness even the important changes. In this volume several maps embody a comparison between the situation at one period and that at another period sufficiently



remote to show the final settlement for the territory in question. By such comparisons it is possible to understand the gradual process of the growth of modern Europe and to perceive the relation of this modern world to the ancient and the mediæval world.

Influence of Geography upon History. — It was not until the eighteenth century that thoughtful men realized the extent to which the history of different peoples has been influenced by such geographical conditions as climate, character of the soil, minerals, waterways, and nearness to the sea. England, with great deposits of coal and iron close to one another, with rivers deep enough for ocean-going ships, surrounded by seas which are highways to the gates of other lands as well as means of defence for herself, seems destined by nature to become a manufacturing and trading country, provided with vast fleets for commerce and for war. It would be a mistake to explain everything by such natural reasons, for much depends also upon the characteristics of the people who occupy the region. In most cases the inhabitants of a country already had a developed character when they settled in it, so that their successes or failures can be attributed in part only to the region itself. Geographical reasons are, however, so important that they should be considered at every step.

Geography of Europe. — A glance at Map 1 shows that Europe is a peninsula thrust southwestward between the seas and narrowing toward Spain, its terminus. This peninsula, the total area of which is only slightly greater than that of the United States, has been the scene of nearly all the history alluded to in the present volume. It is true there is a Greater Europe, wherever Europeans have carried their civilization or have won the mastery, but this larger history has been touched only incidentally. Several of the features of Europe's geography have strikingly influenced its history. Before the peninsula broadens into Spain its width is only two hundred and fifty miles. A frontier so short, combined with the practical impassability of the Pyrenees except at the eastern and

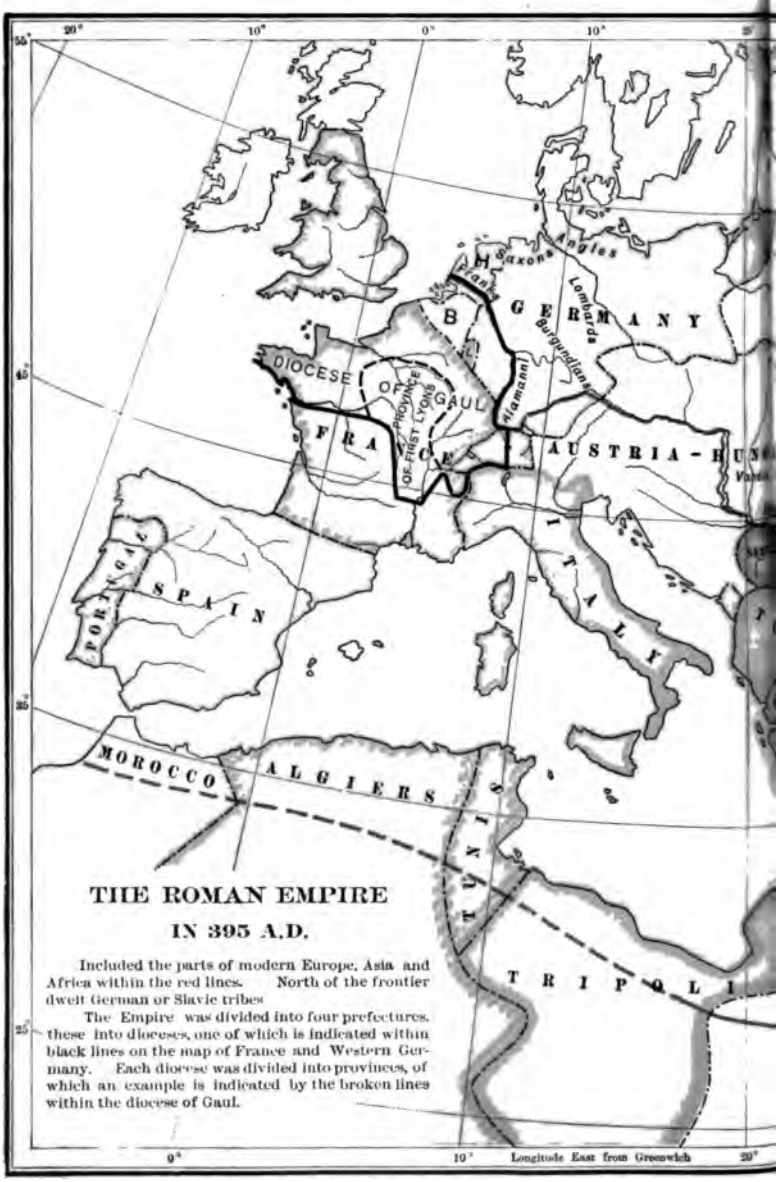
western ends, separates Spain from the rest of the continent almost as much as the English Channel separates Great Britain. The Channel has affected the fortunes of the English at every turn. Movements like the French Revolution, which broke all other barriers, could not cross the Channel. In later days it has enabled the English to hold aloof from European alliances, relying upon a fleet strong enough to dominate the "narrow seas." Spain's aloofness is not an equally "splendid isolation," and it is a question whether Spain would ever have played an important part in European affairs had not the possessions of her monarchs in Italy and the Netherlands, their marriage alliance with the Hapsburgs, and their championship of the Church drawn them out of their isolation. The situation of France is also full of meaning. Between two seas, she has been part of both Mediterranean and northern worlds. One of the most thoroughly Romanized of the provinces of the Empire, she has been foremost repeatedly in the enterprises of the later Europe. In northern Europe one unbroken plain stretches from the North Sea to the Urals. Here is the secret of the fate of Poland. Without a compactly organized government and a strong army she fell a prey to better-organized neighbors. Looking across the Mediterranean, it is clear that the belt of country between the deserts and the sea is so narrow that it could not support a population large enough to control its own destiny. It was doomed to be a land of colonies and the spoil of conquerors from the time when the Phœnicians founded Carthage to the occupation of Algiers and Tunis by the French and of Egypt by the English. The rivers of Europe, especially the Rhine and the Danube, have had an important part in the migration of peoples and in commerce, and have served also as military frontiers. The Danube was the ordinary route by which invaders — the Goths, the Huns, the Magyars, and the Mongols — marched toward western Europe. The Magyars, or Hungarians, were finally driven back and settled in the great Danubian plain, becoming the defenders of the West against the Turk.



Natural Boundaries. — It is impossible to allude here even to the principal influences geography has exercised upon the history of European peoples or states or cities. To gain an adequate understanding of the subject, teacher and student should consult such books as *The Relations of Geography and History,* by H. B. George. But there is one other topic so important as to require brief comment. The limits of certain nations are apparently marked off by nature, — the English by the Channel, the Spanish by the Pyrenees, the Italians by the Alps, and, to some extent, the Hungarians by the Carpathian Mountains. If the history of these and other peoples be considered attentively, many events seem to work together to emphasize the controlling influence of such natural boundaries. The Channel was a good reason why the Norman English kings should not retain territories in western France. The Pyrenees served partly to explain why Rousillon was ceded to France in 1659. The absence of such clearly marked boundaries also explains why the French and the Germans have struggled so long over the region west of the Rhine, and, as already remarked, why Prussia, Austria, and Russia succeeded in partitioning Poland. Nevertheless, it is unsafe to draw inferences hurriedly from physical features which apparently indicate good boundaries. Throughout the Middle Ages rulers paid no attention to such influences; they acquired fiefs by marriage or conquest wherever it was possible. The latest history of Europe shows in the acquisition of colonial possessions a similar defiance of physical restraints. Moreover Italy, instead of being a united country, remained a "geographical expression" for over a thousand years. The eastern ranges of the Alps spread out fanshape into the Danubian valley, and from the time of the Visigoths have offered to invaders an easy entrance into Italy. The Swiss geographically belong to two or three different countries, but remain loyal to one another and to their republic. The argument from natural boundaries was used by the French during the Revolutionary Wars as an excuse for annexing the region west of the Rhine, although a river is not

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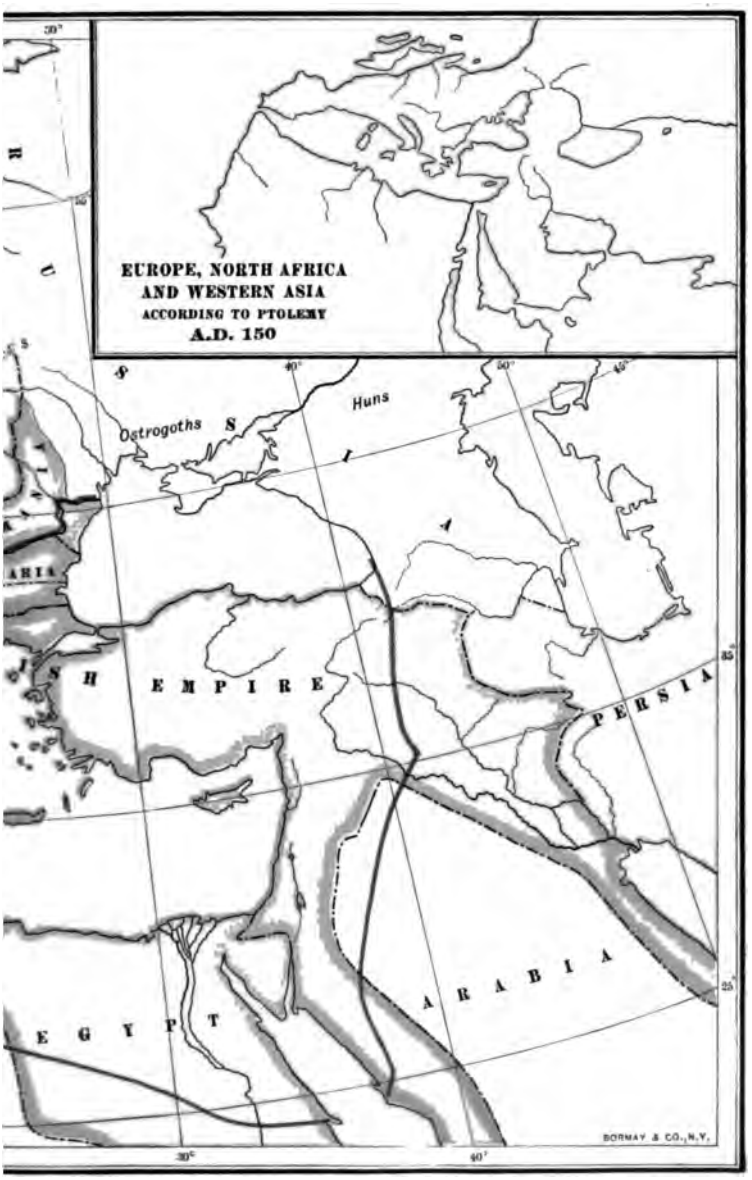


THE ROMAN EMPIRE

IN 395 A.D.

Included the parts of modern Europe, Asia and Africa within the red lines. North of the frontier dwelt German or Slavic tribes

The Empire was divided into four prefectures, these into dioceses, one of which is indicated within black lines on the map of France and Western Germany. Each diocese was divided into provinces, of which an example is indicated by the broken lines within the diocese of Gaul.


EUROPE, NORTH AFRICA
AND WESTERN ASIA
ACCORDING TO PTOLEMY
A.D. 150
Ostrogoths
Huns
EMPIRE
PERSIA
ARABIA
EGYPT
BORMAY & CO., N.Y.



MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

CHAPTER I.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

1. **The Roman World.** — Never since the fourth century of the Christian era has the civilized world been united under one government. There are single countries as large as the Roman Empire, and the world includes lands unknown to the Romans, but they alone have been able to boast that all peoples save the outer barbarians were joined with them in one great state. This dominion was the result of victorious campaigns pushed forward from land to land by the Republic and completed by the Empire. It included what is now England, France, a part of Germany, Spain, the southern portion of the Austro-Hungarian empire, the Balkan states south of the Danube, the Turkish empire, Italy and Greece, Egypt and northern Africa. Although the peoples which dwelt in these widely scattered regions — Syrians, Greeks, Egyptians, Romans, Celts, Germans — were well-nigh as different from one another as their modern successors, they were bound together for two or three centuries by ties even stronger than the courage and the might of the Roman legions. Rome had robbed them of their independence, but in return she had given them orderly government, freedom from endless petty wars, entrance into a community of peoples which shared all those ways of living, customs, laws, and ideas, which together we call Græco-Roman civilization. At first the conquered had been treated as sub-

jects, but afterward they had been raised to the level of citizenship. The name Roman ceased to mean a native of the city by the Tiber, or even of Italy; it became equally applicable to the dweller in London, Constantinople, or Alexandria. There were many reasons why this union of neighboring peoples as provinces under a single imperial rule should endure, but there were also causes which were working its ruin.



ONE OF THE DEFENCES OF THE EMPIRE.

Wall of Hadrian (117–138); also ascribed to Septimius Severus (193–211). Extends from the mouth of the Tyne to Solway Firth, 73¼ miles; height 12 feet (with parapet, 16), thickness about 8 feet. Material, concrete, faced with square blocks. On the north a ditch, 10 to 15 feet deep, about 32 feet wide at top. Along the line, 18 walled camps, watch towers and "mile-castles" between.

2. Bonds of Union, Routes. — Sometimes the boundaries of a nation are traced by bodies of water like the English Channel, or by mountain ranges like the Alps and the Pyrenees. Such natural barriers also protect the union of peoples when once this has been accomplished. The Roman Empire had no bulwarks of this sort; but since its provinces lay about the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, it possessed water routes

which were an almost equally good means of securing its unity. To guard these routes the government organized several war fleets, notably those of Misenum, Ravenna, Egypt, Syria, the Black Sea, Britain, and the Rhine. But it did not think such natural highways were enough. Just as modern governments have built railways in order to be able to move their armies rapidly to any place on the frontier or to bind distant parts of their territory together, so the Romans covered the Empire with a network of great roads. These roads were pushed straight over hills and across marshes, teaching the peoples along the route the bold and tireless energy of Rome. They were paved with heavy blocks of dressed stone, laid upon foundations two or three feet deep, and so solidly constructed that long sections of them still remain. At convenient intervals relays of horses were stationed, and vehicles were in readiness in order that messages and officers could be sent forward rapidly to distant places. Private wagons were also provided for merchants and travellers. So well managed were the roads that merchandise was generally carried by them rather than by sea. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the railways were built, that communication between different parts of the world again became as comfortable and rapid. In France, at least, the new system of national roads and of railways is based largely upon the Roman system. For Gaul the principal centre was Lyons, which was reached from Italy by three routes across the Alps. From Lyons roads branched in all directions, — northward to the Rhine, northwestward to the Channel, westward to the lower Loire and the Garonne, and southward to Marseilles. Through Arles and Nîmes ran the more direct road from Italy to Spain. In Britain four roads centred at London and three at Chester.

3. **Union through Language.** — The use of Latin, the language of the Romans, even more than the system of roads, showed how all the conquered peoples were becoming parts of one vast community. East of the Adriatic Sea Latin never took the

place of Greek as the language of common life. Indeed, the spread of Greek was furthered by the peace which the Romans brought and by the ease of communication under their rule, so that the eastern half of the Empire became more and more Greek or Hellenic in ideas and sympathies. Side by side with Greek, Latin was used as an official language. In the West, Latin had no such unconquered rival. It early became the language of Africa and Spain. Its struggle with Celtic in Gaul continued longer, but even before Latin had become the language of the common people it was studied eagerly by educated men who were soon famous for their skilful use of it in formal speech. In the end Celtic was so completely forgotten that in modern French there are only twenty-six words of Celtic origin. Although the government did not organize any system of public elementary schools, the provincials were so eager to have their children taught that many private schools were opened. Secondary schools and schools of higher education were directly encouraged by the emperors, who ordered the cities to maintain them. The school at Marseilles was famous for its physicians, and that at Bordeaux for its training in the use of elegant Latin. Youths came even from Italy to attend these schools. Athens was the seat of a still greater school, at which, as in Rome, the imperial government supported professors. Educated men felt at home in all parts of the Græco-Roman world. A glance at the history of some of the literary men of the later Empire illustrates this fact. Ulpian and Papinian, two of the ablest Roman jurists, were natives of Syria. Of the three most prominent poets of the fourth century, one was an Asiatic, another a Spaniard, and the third a Gaul. The best history of the time was written by Ammianus, a native of Antioch, who, after an active career as a soldier, lived in Rome and wrote his work in Latin. Augustine, the most influential theologian of the period, was a north African. Jerome, born on the confines of Italy and Greece, completed the Vulgate, his immortal translation of the Bible into Latin, in a convent at Bethlehem. But east of the Adri-

atic the Greek language and Greek ideas were making more progress than Latin, and in the West the Latin that the common people learned was not the language of Cicero and Cæsar, but the ordinary language of conversation on the streets, which the soldiers and emigrants had taken with them to the provinces, and which later developed into the earliest forms of French, Spanish, and Italian.

4. Law. — Another bond of union was the Roman law. This was the most lasting benefit conferred by the Empire, because upon it were to be based the laws of southern and western Europe. At first it was a privilege to be judged according to this law, but when citizenship was granted to all the provincials, there was no longer any reason to administer two kinds of law, one for Romans and one for natives, since all had officially been made Romans. Meanwhile the law itself was being improved by the judges whose duty it was to decide the cases brought before them. Punishments became less severe, the lot of the slave was bettered, women and children gained more rights; in short, this system of law was winning the name so often applied to it since, of "written reason."

5. Manner of Life. — The Romans, like the Greeks before them, carried everywhere the art of living in cities. In some ways these cities have not yet been surpassed. They were adorned with splendid public baths, furnished with an abundance of pure water, brought in stone aqueducts often from distant hills. One of these aqueducts, built to supply Nîmes, still spans the river Gard. The broken arches of some which supplied Rome still stretch across the Campagna. Many of the temples, afterward converted into Christian churches, remain, even in ruin, the wonder and inspiration of modern builders. The theatres also were public buildings, but unfortunately the plays were not always wholesome in their teaching.

6. The Empire and the Church. — Rome was tolerant toward the religions of the peoples which she conquered. With the establishment of the Empire it became customary to look upon the emperor as a god, the embodiment of the genius of Rome

which had brought peace, security, and many other advantages to the world. The Christians refused to join in this worship and organized secretly into churches, although all secret associations were contrary to law. They were therefore looked upon as disobedient subjects. Since they attended no festivals at which the ancient gods of Greece and Rome were honored, their neighbors sometimes believed them to be unsocial and



RUINS OF THE CLAUDIA.

An aqueduct completed by the Emperor Claudius in 52 A.D. These arches extended originally more than seven miles across the plain to the hills. The structure was nearly a hundred feet high.

even haters of the human race. But the spread of Christianity, first among the poor and obscure, and afterward among the higher and more influential classes, could be checked neither by the outburst of popular hatred nor by the spasmodic attempts of the emperors to punish with death those convicted of being Christians. This policy was changed by the imperial government in 311, and Christianity was reluctantly recognized as a legal religion. A year or two afterward the Emperor Constantine carried out more effectively the policy of

toleration. Later in the century all other religious worship was forbidden. The old religions died hard, defending themselves longest among the countrymen, or *pagani*. For this reason they came to be called "pagan." By the end of the fourth century the Christian Church was highly organized, with bishops of cities, metropolitan bishops of provincial capitals, and patriarchs of five great cities, chiefly in the East. The patriarchate most honored was that of Rome, which, it was held, had been founded by St. Peter and St. Paul, and of which St. Peter had been the first bishop. As soon as the Greek thinkers came to look upon Christianity as a true religion, they were eager to define exactly what each one should believe about God and about Jesus Christ. The teachers of the West, less anxious to argue about such questions, set themselves to explain just how men might become Christians, and how they might be free from the evil that was in the world. A great council was held at Nicæa, in 325, under the presidency of Constantine, to settle the question of the relation of Christ to God. This council drew up a creed, which, after some changes, became the Nicene creed. Christians who refused to accept the doctrine about Christ set forth in this creed — namely, that Christ is in being the same and coequal with God — were called Arians, because Arius, a priest of Alexandria, held a view which the council condemned. What the council of Nicæa did for this doctrine, Augustine did for the doctrines of Christian character and conduct, so that by the middle of the fifth century the beliefs commonly called Christianity had all been carefully explained in books and in the acts of councils. Although the victory of Christianity seemed to give to the Empire another bond of union, in reality it did not strengthen the feeling of loyalty or gratitude toward the imperial rule. It taught men to regard their fate in another world as more important than their condition on earth. It weakened the prejudice against the barbarians, who might also be fellow-Christians. It founded a government of bishops and councils which eventually rivalled the government of the emperors.

7. The Imperial Government. — The emperors of the fourth century were very different from Augustus, who had tried simply to play the part of the first citizen of Rome, though he had held those magistracies which would enable him to control the government. His successors had become monarchs in the full sense of the word and had surrounded themselves with the ceremony and the splendor of eastern despots. The senate, which had been the actual ruler of the Republic, and with which the early emperors had shared their power, was hardly more than a body of nobles enjoying high privileges and freed from the most burdensome taxes. Distinguished men in the provinces were raised to senatorial rank as a favor or as a reward. The ancient difference in rights between Roman and provincial gave place to a new difference due to office or rank granted by the emperor. Such rank was marked by titles much like those which go with nobility or high office in some modern countries. The titles count and duke began to be used. The chief officials were the prefects of the four prefectures into which the Roman world was divided. Under them were the vicars of the thirteen dioceses, and under these the governors of one hundred and eighteen provinces. For the ordinary citizen the most important officials were not these public men but the subordinates or clerks, who held their positions for life, and who, from their knowledge of the way in which government business had been done, were more likely to control their nominal chiefs than to be controlled by them, especially as even so great an officer as a prefect held his position only a short time. Thus the Empire came to be managed by a bureaucracy, that is, by officers or employees of the bureaus or commissions to which all public business was intrusted.

8. Burden of Empire. — It has been said that the world has never been so happy and prosperous as in the second century of the Empire. At that time the Empire meant peace and justice for all, and its cost to the ordinary citizen was not burdensome. After the turmoil of the next century had ruined

many provinces, and after the reorganization of the imperial monarchy by Diocletian and his successors had increased the expenses, the situation steadily grew worse. The total sums of money demanded of the taxpayers were not greater than those voluntarily raised by some modern peoples, but the bur-



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THE PANTHEON, ROME.

Built by Hadrian, 120–124. The diameter of the dome is a little over 142 feet, or greater than that of any other dome. In the year 609 this Roman temple was dedicated as the church of S. Maria ad Martyres. It was afterward called S. Maria Rotonda. Now used as a burial place of the kings of Italy.

den was made heavier by the wasteful method of collecting the money, by the frequent efforts of officials to enrich themselves at the expense of the taxpayers, and by special favors granted to rich and influential men excusing them from payment, and in this way putting the burden upon their poorer neighbors. Occasionally the owner of a great estate with a

small army of servants defied the tax-gatherer to enter his domains. Besides the taxes paid in money there were others paid by furnishing the army or imperial officials with provisions, with transportation, and with labor on roads or fortifications. Such taxes "in kind" had grown out of the scarcity of money and the depreciation of the coins in circulation. This shows that society was falling back upon a system of barter — what the political economists call a "natural economy" as distinguished from a money economy. It also showed that the community was fast becoming unable to bear the expenses of the Empire.

9. Crushing Load of the Middle Class. — One of the consequences of this system of taxation was the ruin of the well-to-do middle class. Each city, like all ancient cities, included a large amount of territory, often larger than the average American county. Landowners who held at least sixteen acres belonged to the local senate or *curia*. To them was assigned the heavy task of collecting the taxes. The sum for each city was fixed by the government and must be collected by the curials from the citizens or paid out of their own resources. As the task became more difficult their only means of escape was to be elevated to the rank of imperial senators, which would free them from such duties. They could not change their residence nor sell their property. The burden descended from father to son. Some sought to escape it by taking refuge among the barbarians.

10. The City's Defender. — Oppression of the taxpayers went on in spite of the attempts of emperors to check it. After 364 each city was provided with a *defensor*, a sort of attorney whose business it was to guard the interests of the city and sometimes to protect the lower classes against the exactions of the *curia*. Occasionally, also, the *defensor* acted the part of government agent in holding the curials to their disastrous task. Later the *defensor* was often replaced by the bishop, who naturally gained influence and power by guarding his flock against oppression.



11. The Enslavement of Work. — The local senators were not the only ones whose liberty disappeared as the needs of the Empire became greater. The associations or corporations of artisans and tradesmen which had originally been formed for social purposes or to insure the members a decent burial were used as a means of more readily exacting the tax which fell upon persons of this class or of compelling the performance of work necessary for the welfare of the community. For example, the pig and cattle merchants and the bakers who provided food for the public distributions made at Rome and Constantinople were treated as castes from which it was impossible to withdraw. So, also, were the boatmen and the conductors of transports. The workmen in the imperial mints, armories, and mines were even branded with a red-hot iron to guard against their escape. Only by chaining each man to his task could the unwieldy fabric of the Empire be kept in place.

12. The Enslavement of Land. — The farmer, also, in most cases, ceased to be an independent owner of land and was partly enslaved. Sometimes he gave up his title to his rich neighbor in order to be protected against the tax-gatherers. He did this, too, when invasion and local disorder exposed him to ruin. Often it was the only way to extricate himself from the burden of debt which the hardness of the times laid upon him. Unfortunately, also, owners of great domains discovered that they could seize these little farms without being called to account by the distant prefect to whose jurisdiction alone they were subject in criminal matters. All such abandonments of title were accomplished by a species of fictitious sale, in order to avoid openly breaking the laws which forbade such transactions. The free farmers who in this way ceased to be owners of their farms continued to cultivate them. Their position was similar to that of other freemen, called *coloni*, or settlers, to whom the landlord had granted a farm. The government, in order to make sure that each piece of land paid its due share of the taxes, took account of such tenants and

compelled them and their children after them to remain permanently upon the land. They also lost the privilege of marrying freely outside the estate, for such a marriage would mean that some other landlord had lost one of his tenants. There were other *coloni*, the freedmen, who differed from the free *coloni* only in that they could not bequeath property, and the slaves who had been settled upon a portion of the estate in order that they might work better than did the ordinary slave under the overseer. These changes were dragging freemen down toward slavery and pulling slaves up toward freedom. The two met on the level which in the Middle Ages is called serfdom.

13. Those who Profited. — The only man who continued to prosper while the Empire was growing weaker was the rich noble. Wealth more and more meant landed property. This was cultivated either by slaves or by *coloni*. A large estate was an almost independent community, with its villages of *coloni*, its great courtyard surrounded by houses for slaves, a prison, barns, storehouses, shops, a mill, a winepress, and a forge, and at some distance the mansion of the lord, a house provided with spacious rooms, dining halls, and libraries, promenades, surrounded by extensive gardens, often overlooking a charming country-side. It was only when the invasions began or bands of marauders threatened their peace that these mansions were transformed into fortified strongholds. The owners were not warriors like the ancient Romans. They disdained service in the army. They were fond of literature and the arts, and their efforts to cultivate them gave to later Roman civilization an appearance of refinement and intellectual energy which hid from view the signs of weakness and decay.

14. Defence of Empire. — Since the freemen were sinking toward slavery and the nobles had lost that taste for war and conquest which carried the Roman eagles over the ancient world, the sole safeguard of the Empire was the regular army. This consisted of about four hundred thousand men, some of them settled in communities along the frontier and intrusted

with its ordinary defence. These soldier settlers were frequently drawn from some German tribe that had entered the service of the Empire and had found its reward in such a grant of land. The more active portion of the army was kept in garrison in towns from which detachments could be moved



THE WALL OF ROME.

Built by the Emperor Aurelian (270–275), rebuilt by Honorius (395–423). Constructed of brick-faced concrete; thickness, 12 or 13 feet; height, from 29 to 58 feet, according to the slope of the ground.

rapidly toward threatened points on the frontier. All important towns, even those in the interior, were surrounded by walls, for after the invasions of the third century the frontier was no longer secure.

15. Beyond the Frontier. — The greatest danger lay on the northern frontier from the mouth of the Rhine to the mouth

of the Danube. There had been campaigns, some of them disastrous, against the Persians in the upper valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates, but it was only the Germans who were likely to become actual invaders. The principal tribes toward the end of the century were the Franks on the lower Rhine, and north of them the Saxons, the Burgundians on the Main, the Alamanni between the upper Rhine and the upper Danube, the Vandals between the Danube and the Theiss, the Visigoths north of the lower Danube, and still further east the Ostrogoths. Several of these names reappear in the modern geographical names, — France, Franconia, Saxony, Essex, Burgundy, and in *Allemagne*, the French name for Germany.

16. German Immigrants. — The Germans were not strangers within the Roman Empire. Two centuries before, Tacitus, a great Roman historian, had sought to chastise Roman vices by holding up the picture of German virtues. Cæsar, also, a hundred and fifty years still earlier, had written about the Germans. From time to time Germans had entered the army, either singly or as tribes of confederates or *fœderati*. Some of them had risen to high rank. Stilicho, the greatest general in the fifth century, was a Vandal. German fashions were much admired by the Romans. As the population of the Empire decreased, thousands of Germans had been given vacant lands within its limits. In Gaul many became *coloni* on the large estates. In the eastern provinces the masons, porters, and water-carriers were mostly Goths.

17. Germans at Home. — The relations of the German peoples to the Empire were so close that in all the borderland Roman ways of living began to be customary. The words which described these things also were adopted by the Germans, and have remained in their language to this day. They had already learned to dwell in settled communities and to cultivate the soil. It is probable that the freeman owned simply his house and the land immediately about it, and that the land which he planted was assigned to him each year, or

at the end of a period of years. As with all early peoples, the chief wealth was in cattle. The men loved war, and from early youth were trained to endure its hardships. To the Roman they seemed tall, fair, and of a fierce countenance. To their simple virtues they unhappily joined some rude vices, especially drunkenness and gambling. Men staked even their own freedom, although it took a family once reduced to slavery three generations to rise again to full freedom. To the Romans each tribe seemed a *civitas*, or city-state. Although there were kings, most of the power belonged to the freemen, who met from time to time in an assembly and either rejected what was proposed to them by shouts of disapproval or clashed their arms together in token of acceptance. They could even depose their king. Their leader in war was often not the king himself, but some bold warrior chosen because of his prowess in battle. These men the Romans called *duces* or dukes. Occasionally the office descended from father to son. Besides the kings and the dukes there were other nobles, although they decreased in numbers and influence as the power of the kings was strengthened by wars and by expeditions.

18. German Ideas of Justice and of God. — The Germans did not have the same ideas of justice as the Romans. Their crude customs set so high a value upon personal liberty that though a man had killed his neighbor he was not punished like a modern criminal. The family could, however, take vengeance upon the aggressor or any of his family. Each sort of man in the tribe — noble, freeman, or slave — had his price or *wergeld* fixed by law. If the aggressor were ready to pay the *wergeld* or damages to the injured family, and the family was willing to accept this, the wrong was righted. Other wrongs were settled in the same way. If the parties in a quarrel were willing to bring the affair before the assembly presided over by a chosen chief or by the king, the truth was learned through a solemn oath supported by the friends of the parties or by various ordeals. According to one of these

ordeals the accused man was to thrust his hand into boiling water, and if after a certain time the arm showed signs of healing he was considered innocent. By another, both accused and accuser were to fight before the judges, and the victor's statement was accepted as true. Like all European peoples, the Germans worshipped the great forces of nature, the sunlight and the storm, and the mysterious beauty of the earth. The names of several gods have been preserved to mark our week days, — Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday.

19. The Christian Conquest of the Germans. — Not long after Christianity had been legalized in the Empire it was also taught among the Visigoths north of the Danube by Bishop Ulphilas, a child, it is said, of Christians taken captive in an earlier Gothic raid. When his followers were persecuted by their heathen fellow-tribesmen, they gained permission to cross the river and settle within the Empire. Ulphilas had been ordained a bishop in 341 when Arianism was favored at Constantinople, so that he taught his Gothic converts this doctrine of the relation of Christ to God. The result was that the later Romans detested the Goths not only as invaders and plunderers, but as heretics and enemies of the true Church. As Christianity passed from the Goths to other German tribes, Arianism became the general form of belief held by all the Germans save the Franks. The work of Ulphilas was so far-reaching chiefly because he had given the Gothic language a written form, and had translated into it the Bible, except the books of Kings, which he feared would strengthen the warlike spirit. A manuscript of this Bible still exists and is the earliest example of a Germanic language.

20. Revolt of the Visigothic Federates. — In the latter part of the fourth century the loosely organized Gothic kingdom was attacked by the Huns, a people of shepherds and marauders which had wandered from northern Asia across the Ural Mountains into the valley of the Volga. The Ostrogoths were conquered, but two hundred thousand Visigoths in 376 sought refuge within the Empire behind the Danube. They

were granted lands on condition of serving as *fœderati*. Unfortunately, they were so ill-treated by the Roman officials that they soon rose in revolt and began to lay waste the whole region. At a battle in 378, near Adrianople, the Roman army was overrun by a sudden charge of Gothic horsemen. Valens, the emperor, perished. The new emperor, Theodosius, succeeded in pacifying the Goths and in settling them again as *fœderati* partly in Asia Minor and partly in Europe. When he died, in 395, his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, reigned, one at Constantinople, the other at Rome. After this date the Empire was never really united under a single emperor, so that it is often taken as the beginning of a new era or even of the Middle Ages.

SUMMARY

I. The Roman Empire. — 1. Size: (*a*) in relation to civilized world; (*b*) in relation to the modern states which its frontiers would enclose. 2. Hindrances and helps to union: (*a*) differences of race, of language, and of religion, partly overcome (*b*) by grant of same rights, growth of a general system of law, increasing use of Latin as the language of literature and of education, as well as of administration and of the courts, by a similar manner of living, and by a good system of roads and waterways; (*c*) Christianity and its triumph as a help or a hindrance.

II. The Roman Government. — 1. Change in its character. 2. Its subdivisions. 3. Its officials. 4. New expenses and heavy taxes. 5. The men who paid and the men who did not pay. 6. An official protector for the weak.

III. The People. — 1. Artisans and tradesmen lose their liberties. 2. Farmers: (*a*) disappearance of free farmers; (*b*) the colonist farmers; (*c*) the freedmen as farmers. 3. The nobles: (*a*) origin of their privileges; (*b*) their manner of life; (*c*) their dislike of military service.

IV. The Army. — 1. Lack of free recruits. 2. German tribesmen as soldiers. 3. Size of army. 4. Military frontier settlements and town garrisons.

V. The Outer Barbarians. — The German tribes: 1. Location. 2. Immigration. 3. Their government, manner of life, and religion.

Special Points of View: —

1. **Weakness of the Empire**: (*a*) from its many frontiers; (*b*) from the increasing difficulty of raising money; (*c*) because of the decay of patriotism where the burdens of society were greater than its benefits; (*d*) from the lack of freemen ready to enlist in the army; (*e*) because the nobles had lost the fighting spirit; (*f*) from the danger that German tribes in the service of the Empire should revolt.
2. **Beginnings of Mediæval Society**: (*a*) growth of a new nobility; (*b*) loss of freedom by workmen in town and country; (*c*) a land system in which vast estates were held by individual men, and were cultivated by men who had partly or wholly lost their freedom; (*d*) growing custom of great nobles to defy public officials and exempt their lands from taxation.

FURTHER STUDY

(See also Bibliography, pp. 477.)

General Reading: Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages;* Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire* (ed. 1904); Munro and Sellery, *Mediæval Civilization;* Bémont and Monod, *Mediæval Europe;* Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages;* Duruy, *The Middle Ages;* Cunningham, *Western Civilization*, Vol. II.; Lavisse, *Political History of Europe;* histories of separate countries, — England, by Bright, 5 vols., Gardiner, Green, Andrews, Cheyney, Terry; France, by Adams, Duruy, Kitchin, 3 vols.; Germany, by Henderson, 2 vols.; Spain, by Burke, 2 vols.; manuals of Church history by Fisher, Newman, 2 vols., Alzog, 3 vols.; selections from the sources, documents, writings, letters, etc.: Henderson, *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages;* Robinson, *Readings in European History;* Jones, *Civilization during the Middle Ages;* Pennsylvania *Translations and Reprints;* Thatcher-McNeal, *Source Book for Mediæval History;* source books of English history by Colby, Lee, Kendall, Adams-Stephens.

PARAGRAPHS: —

1. **The heritage of civilization** left by the Greeks and Romans, Adams, *Civilization*, Ch. 2.
3. **Language**, Munro and Sellery, 3–17.
4. **Roman Law**, see Morey. For later influence of this law, see paragraphs **32** (Justinian's code), **132** (revival at Bologna and elsewhere).

PARAGRAPHS: —

5. **Architecture**, see Sturgis, Ch. 2, or Lanciani.

6. **Roman Policy toward Christianity**: selections from imperial decrees, contemporary letters, and from Roman and Christian writers, in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. IV., No. 1; Jones, No. 1; and Robinson, Nos. 6 and 7; see Adams, Ch. 3; Bury, Vol. I., 1–24; Newman, 147–172; or, at length, Ramsay.

7–13. **The Roman Government**, the burdens it imposed, the consequences, Cunningham, 170–195; Hodgkin, *Theodosius*, 33–54; Munro and Sellery, 18–43; Bury, 25–49, particularly Dill, 189–234; list of officials, *Tr. and Rp.*, Vol. VI., No. 4; life among barbarians more tolerable, Robinson, Nos. 8, 9.

15–18. **The Germans**: Adams, *Civilization*, Ch. 5; Henderson, Ch. 1; see also Bury and Dill; selection from the Germania of Tacitus, in *Tr. and Rp.*, Vol. VI., No. 3; Thatcher-McNeal, Nos. 1, 4; Jones, No. 2; Kendall, No. 2; Colby, 9–13.

Additional Reading: Hodgkin, *Dynasty of Theodosius* and *Italy and her Invaders*, 8 vols.; Villari, *The Barbarian Invasions of Italy*, 2 vols.; Morey, *Outlines of Roman Law;* Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols.; Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire;* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Bury ed., 7 vols.; Gummere, *Germanic Origins;* Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome;* Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire;* Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, 6 vols.; Sturgis, *European Architecture.*

CHAPTER II.

THE GERMAN INVASIONS

21. The Fall of Rome. — Within two centuries of the death of Theodosius the ruin of the Empire was almost complete. Instead of a single will controlling the peoples from the borders of Scotland to the valley of the Euphrates, many kingdoms had sprung into existence, mainly in the West — Saxon, Frankish, Burgundian, Gothic, and Vandal — and on the thrones were men with strange names — Ethelbert, Penda, Chlodwig, Euric, Gondebald, Genseric. The Middle Ages had begun. This seems clear to us, but the men of the fifth and sixth centuries did not look at things as we do. They were not accustomed to think chiefly of what was taking place in western Europe, and they saw that the Empire still existed with its capital at Constantinople, and with the ancient East as well as north Africa under its administration. It even recovered some of its lost territories in Italy and in Spain. Moreover, several of the German kings accepted from the emperor titles which meant that they were high officials of his government. A few of them actually so regarded themselves, and such the people thought them to be. Even men of intelligence continued to believe in the union of the world under a Roman emperor. These were not the first centuries that had seen invasions from which the Empire recovered. Rude soldiers had many times led their troops — and among them German *fœderati* — into the heart of rich provinces in search of power, and had even mounted the imperial throne. The successive invasions which now ruined the Empire came either at such long intervals of time or troubled such widely separated



provinces that not until long afterward could men put them together as belonging to one great event — the fall of the Empire.

22. Alaric's First Attacks. — The Visigoths were *fœderati* in the service of Rome, but they had gained a taste for plunder and had not forgotten their victory at Adrianople. Their chief, Alaric, soon after the death of Theodosius, possibly because the government refused him a high command in the army, led them on a plundering expedition through Macedonia into Greece. The imperial officers were too jealous of one another to unite against the common enemy. Stilicho at one time had Alaric in his power, but allowed him to escape. To free Greece from such a scourge Arcadius appointed Alaric general of the imperial forces in western Illyricum, whence he would be more likely to march into Italy than to threaten Constantinople. After the Gothic chieftain had armed his followers in the imperial arsenals he did attempt the invasion of Italy, only to be beaten back in 402 by Stilicho. A new danger now threatened Italy in the onset of a vast horde of Germans and slaves under Radagaisus, a wave of invasion thrown forward by the movements of the Huns and the Ostrogoths beyond the northern frontier. Stilicho was equal to this new task, and the invaders were either slain or captured and sold as slaves.

23. Provinces ravaged; Rome sacked, 410. — Unfortunately Stilicho was suspected by the Roman party at court of conspiring to create a throne for his son. Already he was the virtual ruler of the West. His wife was the adopted daughter of Theodosius, and his daughter was the wife of Honorius. Partly prompted by jealousy of this powerful German the legions of Britain proclaimed an emperor whose name, Constantine, reminded men of the good fortune of another soldier raised to the throne by these legions just a hundred years before. The usurper could not march into Italy, for he was kept busy in Gaul by a multitude of Germans, chiefly Vandals and Suevi, who crossed the Rhine at the end of 406. Another

year passed and Stilicho's Roman enemies, working on the jealous fears of Honorius, persuaded him to slaughter Stilicho, his family, and many other influential Germans. The victory of the Roman party was brief. Alaric, who had been in the pay of Stilicho, saw that this was his opportunity. He marched at once upon Rome. As its walls were too strong to be taken by assault, he reduced it by famine and put it to ransom. He next demanded two Roman provinces as a permanent home for his people. The emperor would not consent. He was himself secure behind the marshes of Ravenna, which he had made his capital since Alaric's first invasion of Italy. Alaric tried the expedient of setting up a rival emperor at Rome. After this scheme had failed, in 410, he forced an entrance into the city and gave it over to his barbarous followers to pillage. Only the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul were respected, while hundreds of palaces offered rich spoil to the plunderers. Not since the year 390 before Christ had the city been in the hands of the barbarians. Men could not understand so portentous an event. Those who still worshipped the ancient gods declared that the disaster was due to the impiety which had permitted Christianity to displace the old religion. Augustine in reply wrote his famous *City of God*, describing a new and spiritual city, the Christian's true home, a city not to be overthrown like the earthly Rome by the weaknesses and the crimes of men.

24. Germans in Gaul and Spain. — Meanwhile Gaul was a prey to bands of wandering Germans who plundered, burned, and ransomed through the length and breadth of the land. The evidences of their work have been discovered in the scanty ruins of Roman cities and country houses, their stones blackened by fire, or in some secret store of gold or silver that was hurriedly buried at the approach of the enemy. A new usurper invited the marauders across the Pyrenees into Spain. After they had gone, the Visigoths marched up from Italy under Alaric's brother-in-law. He and the chiefs or kings who succeeded him concluded that it was best for their peoples to

enter the service of the Empire rather than to continue their career as plunderers. As the chief reason that led them within the Empire was the lack of land, the only way for the Empire to purchase their service was to grant them land. For this they agreed to drive the Vandals and the Suevi out of Spain. These peoples had not captured many Spanish cities,



CARCASSONNE.

City on the Aude in southern France. Fortified by the Visigoths, probably on foundations of Roman walls. Walls rebuilt and enlarged in the Middle Ages. See, also, page 121.

but held the open country. All the Vandals except those north of the Douro were conquered, and the Visigoths received the provinces in the Garonne valley as their reward. Although they had originally come to this region as plunderers, they now began to respect what property was left the Roman inhabitants. Since it was land that they must have, it was decided that when they could not be provided out of vacant or public

lands the larger landowners should be required to give up two-thirds of their estates. In the case of other German tribes occasionally only one-third was demanded. This land settlement of itself would not have brought much distress had it not been preceded by wanton destruction of property, the burning of cities, and the massacre of the natives. A little later the Burgundians, who also were recognized as in the service of the Empire, settled in the Rhone valley on similar terms. While these events were taking place greater numbers of Germans had moved to the west bank of the Rhine into the region that was to become Alsace and Lorraine. Here they fixed themselves so firmly that their western border became in time the line of separation between the two languages, French and German. The southward movement of the Franks along the lower Rhine, driving the ancient inhabitants of the Belgian provinces beyond the river Lys and the neighboring forests, marked the origin of the Flemings. Britain had been abandoned by the Roman legions and was left to defend itself. After the first storm was over the Empire seemed still united, although German kingdoms had been established within its borders.

25. Attila and Aëtius. — Since the day when the Visigoths took refuge within the Empire the Huns had been extending their power westward to the great bend of the Danube. Their capital was somewhere on the Theiss. To guard the provinces from their raids the emperor at Constantinople was forced to pay a heavy tribute. Occasionally, also, Hunnic soldiers were hired to fight in the Roman armies. Aëtius, the Stilicho of this period, had been a hostage with the Huns, and had once through their intercession been restored to favor at the court of Ravenna, and even advanced to the command of the troops. Although Aëtius and Attila, the terrible king of the Huns, were on friendly terms, Attila was drawn into a war with the Empire in which Aëtius became his antagonist. It happened in this way: the Vandals had again occupied the southern part of Spain and, taking advantage of quarrels in the African

Church, and between Roman officials in Africa, had crossed the straits of Gibraltar in 429 and seized the disturbed provinces. At first they entered into a bargain with the Roman government at Constantinople similar to that which bound the Visigoths and the Burgundians to the court of Ravenna. They even promised to pay a tribute of grain and oil. Afterward Africa became an independent Vandal kingdom. It was partly to please the Vandal king, who feared Aëtius, partly to claim a share of the Empire as husband of a Roman princess, partly for plunder and conquest, that Attila marched into Gaul in 451 at the head of a host of Huns, Ostrogoths, and other tribesmen. Never before had Asiatics stretched their power so far into western Europe. In the presence of this danger Aëtius persuaded the Visigoths, the Burgundians, and even the Franks to make common cause with the Romans. Aëtius and his followers, Roman and German, saved Orleans, which the Huns were besieging, and a little later fought a battle with them near Troyes, at Maurica. This is commonly called the battle of Châlons, where it was formerly believed to have taken place. The struggle was so fierce that the rivulet which flowed through the fields was swollen into a torrent of blood. In after days it was said that German and Hun were wont to rise from their graves and give ghostly battle in the air. Although neither party was really defeated, the fruits of victory belonged to Aëtius, for Attila decided to retreat to his capital. The next year he invaded Italy and plundered the plains of the Po. Why he did not advance to Rome is not known. Probably his army was weakened by famine and disease and harassed by the troops of Aëtius. At all events, after receiving an embassy led by the Roman bishop, Leo, he again retreated. A year later he died, and his kingdom soon fell to pieces. The same jealous folly which had destroyed Stilicho now caused the emperor to murder Aëtius. As the first sack of Rome was the consequence of Stilicho's murder, so another and worse pillage of the city by the Vandals in 455 was made possible by the death of Aëtius. Leo again inter-

vened, and, although he could not save the riches of the city from plunder, he protected the people from massacre.

26. The Last of the West Roman Emperors. — The murder of Aëtius had also been avenged by the murder of the emperor Valentinian III. At this time, as at the death of Honorius, twenty years before, the whole Empire might again have been brought under a single ruler, and the separation which Theodosius had provided for in 395 might have been ended. Indeed, several times in the stormy days which followed there was no emperor save at Constantinople, but the phantom of a separate imperial government in Italy lingered for another twenty years. The real power belonged to the army and to its leaders, successors to Stilicho and Aëtius. One of these generals, a German, made and unmade emperors during almost the whole period. After his death another general named his young son, Romulus, emperor, and to him was given the title Augustulus, the little Augustus. He did not reign long, for Odovacar, a foreign officer, deposed him in 476, and caused the senate to send an embassy to Constantinople asking for the reunion of the Empire, and that the title "patrician" be granted to Odovacar. Odovacar's followers, like the Visigoths and Burgundians, wanted a portion of the land upon which to settle. In one sense Italy now became a German kingdom, in another sense it was brought under the rule of the emperor at Constantinople. The Romans lived on under their old laws, while their German neighbors were ruled according to German customs. This event has often been called the "Fall of the Roman Empire," and it has been taken as the proper starting-point of the Middle Ages. Such a description of it was the invention of men who did not truly understand what had happened. The Roman Empire was falling, but the events which brought about its ruin were scattered over the fifth and sixth centuries.

27. Fate of Gaul and Britain. — The death of Aëtius and the confusion in Italy took away what little chance there was of restraining the Germans in Gaul and keeping up the ap-

pearance of real imperial government. The Burgundians enlarged their territory in the Rhone valley, and the Visigoths ceased to consider themselves *fœderati*. They even invaded Spain and conquered it for themselves, their kingdom for a time extending from the Loire to the straits of Gibraltar. Already Britain, which since the usurper Constantine left its shores had not been protected by a Roman army, was suffering from incursions of Saxon and Anglian bands. Many of the Britons, in despair, crossed to Gaul, and in the peninsula of Armorica laid the foundations of modern Brittany. Others sullenly and slowly fell back toward the western shores of Britain itself. About their gallant resistance cluster the legends of King Arthur and his Knights. The struggle was so stubborn that nearly all traces of Roman and Christian civilization were destroyed and the eastern part of the island became as barbarous and heathen as the lands beyond the Rhine. In the north of Gaul there were a few provinces under the rule of the Roman general, Syagrius. Even this remnant of empire was swept away in 486 when the Frankish king, Chlodwig (Clovis), conquered Syagrius at Soissons.

28. The Victorious Franks. — Soon afterward Chlodwig, by treacherous and brutal deeds, united all the Franks under his rule. He next conquered the Alamanni. It was during this struggle that, tradition says, he took a step which changed the relations of Roman and German. All the German tribes had hitherto held to the Arian views which they had at first received. With the growing influence of the Church, which regarded Arianism as a deadly heresy, it was difficult to compel Roman and German to live quietly side by side. Even the peaceful Burgundian kings could not overcome the suspicion with which they were looked upon. The wise Chlodwig saw the power which the bishops held and won them over to his support by accepting the Christian faith in the form they taught and by being baptized with three thousand of his followers by Saint Remi. Henceforward in any conflicts which the Franks were to have with either the Burgundians or the Visigoths

the powerful churchmen would wish for a Frankish victory. It was not long before Chlodwig had driven the Visigoths south of the Garonne and his successors had made of the Burgundians a tributary people. Unlike the other Germans the Franks did not demand a part of the soil. They were conquerors, not emigrants, and after their victories many of them returned to their northern homes. Chlodwig, who died in 511, was the founder of the Merovingian line of kings, named from his legendary ancestor Meroveus.

29. The Ostrogoths invade Italy. — The soldier Odovacar did not long rule undisturbed in Italy. A short time before he deposed the little Augustus one branch of the Ostrogothic people received a new king, Thiuda-reiks, called Theodoric by the Romans. Theodoric, during his youth, had lived as a hostage at Constantinople, a pledge of the peace between his tribe and the Empire. After he became king he alternately served the Empire as a commander of *fœderati* and quarrelled with the emperors, harrying the country almost to the gates of Constantinople. In one of the intervals of peace he was raised to the consulate, still a high honor, although it gave no real power. Finally he proposed to the emperor to lead his Goths into Italy, overthrow Odovacar, and rule there until the emperor could come to reëstablish his own authority over these well-nigh lost provinces. The emperor was glad to have so troublesome an officer as far away as possible. Theodoric, in 488, gathered his tribe together, probably about two hundred thousand in number, with forty thousand fighting men. The journey from the banks of the Danube was long and dangerous, for it lay through the lands of hostile tribes. Odovacar was no match for his new rival and in 490 shut himself up in Ravenna. After a three years' siege he surrendered, but soon suffered the fate of Stilicho and of Aëtius. The excuse was the same, and the murderer was Theodoric himself.

30. Theodoric rules Italy, 493–526. — From the death of Odovacar until his own death, over thirty years later, Theodoric ruled unopposed over Italy. His followers received a

third of the land, and settled quietly beside the conquered, living under the same officers, and probably the same laws. The organization of Italy was not changed; even the taxes were collected in the old way, though the condition of the curials was made more endurable. Theodoric surrounded himself with advisers who sincerely tried to rule as the Empire had



TOMB OF THEODORIC AT RAVENNA.

Constructed during his reign. Used during the Middle Ages as the choir of the church S. Maria della Rotonda. The roof is a single block of Istrian marble, 33 feet in diameter, weighing 300 tons.

been ruled in its happier days, and Italy began to recover its vanished prosperity. The distribution of land to the conquerors had been an advantage, partly because it brought many abandoned estates under cultivation, and partly because some of the greater estates were subdivided. Italy became more capable of furnishing its own food supply, although it was still necessary to fetch grain from other countries. The greatest obstacle in Theodoric's path grew out of the fact that

his followers were Arians dwelling in the midst of a population which looked upon Arians as dangerous heretics. He naturally suspected that the Romans were plotting to drive away both him and his Goths, and to restore the authority of the emperor. He had been careful to act as if Italy was a part of the Empire, and on his coins the image of the emperor was stamped, but he did not mean that the emperor should actually rule. Toward the end of his reign, mastered by his suspicions of treason, he struck as savagely as at Ravenna. Two distinguished Romans were put to death, one of whom, Boëthius, wrote during captivity a book on the *Consolation of Philosophy*, which has immortalized his name. About the same time the honors which the emperor showed the pope of Rome, who went on an embassy to Constantinople, further exasperated Theodoric. The pope, on his return, was arrested, and died in prison. In 526 Theodoric also died. One year more and the imperial throne was mounted by Justinian, whose generals were to destroy the kingdom Theodoric had so wisely managed.

31. The New East: Justinian, 527–565. — Ever since Alaric marched down into Italy the East had suffered almost as much as the West. To protect from raids their European provinces the emperors had been forced to pay tribute to one barbarian chieftain after another. Shortly before Justinian became emperor the administration had been reformed, prosperity had returned to the provinces, and the revenues were increasing. During the first years of his reign it seemed as if the Empire was to recover its former territories in Africa and in the West, and to enter upon a new career of glory, but in fact it was ceasing to be imperial and was becoming more distinctly a Greek or Byzantine kingdom. Because of this change it lingered until the Middle Ages were passing into the full blaze of the Renaissance. Though the people still called themselves *Romaioi*, they gained a spirit really Greek and national, which gave them more unity and greater power of resistance. Justinian tacitly recognized the change when he abolished the ancient consulate and

when he permitted Greek to take the place of Latin in official documents. In strange contrast was his codification of the Roman law, the most important means by which Rome's legacy to the world was to be preserved.

32. The Roman Law. — Justinian had not been on the throne six months before he appointed a commission to revise and bring into a consistent whole all the laws which previous emperors had issued. The result was the Civil Code, completed in a little more than a year. Tribonian, the best-known member of this commission, was placed at the head of a second, which in three years condensed into five or six volumes more than a hundred volumes of opinions of lawyers whose explanations of disputed questions had been accepted by the courts as decisive. This work was called the Digest or Pandects.

33. Reconquest of Africa and Italy. — After Justinian's great work for Roman law was finished, his general, Belisarius, in 534, utterly destroyed the Vandal kingdom and recovered Africa as an imperial province. This was followed by the reconquest of Sicily and the overthrow of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy. In both Africa and Italy the excuse for war was the dethronement of princes favorable to Justinian. In Italy the prosperous days of Theodoric were regretfully remembered when the imperial tax-gatherers began to oppress the people. For a time there was a chance that a new Gothic hero, the chivalrous Totila, would restore the fortunes of his countrymen; but he, too, perished, and Italy in 552 became a part of the Empire in fact, as it always had been in name. The cost of it all was terrible, for the land was covered with ruins. The population of Rome, which so late as the reign of Honorius had been a million, had sunk to fifty thousand. During the last sieges the aqueducts had been cut, so that the splendid baths became useless, and they, as well as the temples, began to crumble.

34. The Lombards. — Justinian had not been dead three years before the Lombards, another German horde, appeared in Italy, and robbed the Empire of a large part of its conquest. They seized the plains of the Po, and extended their

rule far down the peninsula beyond Rome. There remained to the Greeks only Rome and the territory immediately dependent upon it, the lands about Ravenna, and the southern part of the peninsula. These were ruled by an officer called an exarch, who lived at Ravenna.

35. Glories and Perils of Justinian. — Justinian is remembered not merely for his victories and his laws, but also for

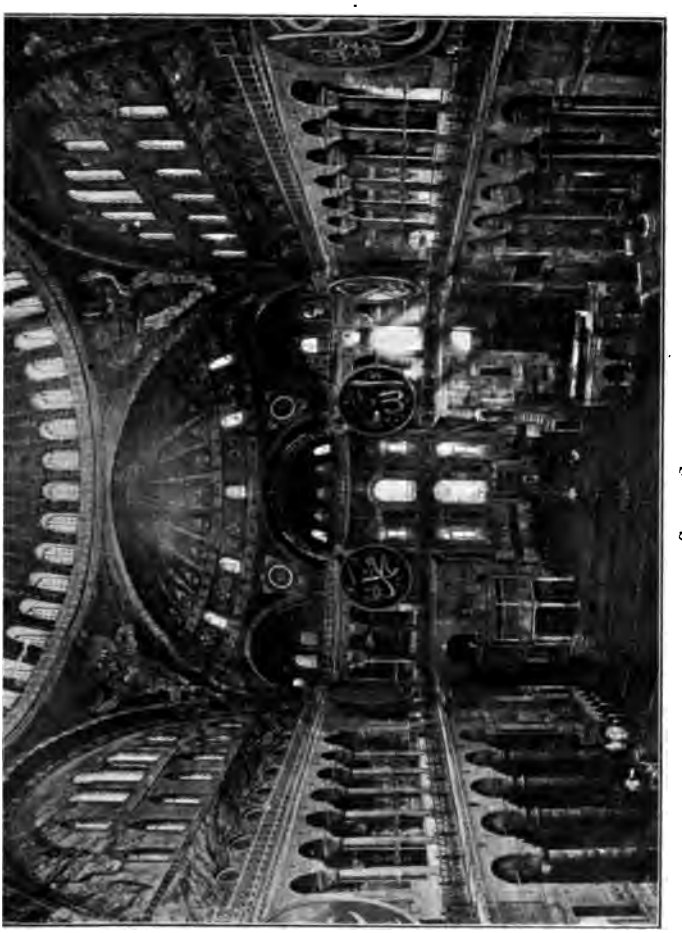


SAINT SOPHIA.

At Constantinople, erected by Justinian in 538 as a church, converted by the Turks into a mosque. Its dome is 107 feet in diameter, while the dome of the Pantheon is 142 feet.

his great public buildings, and especially for the church of St. Sophia, which still stands, though transformed into a Turkish mosque. In the midst of his enterprises the whole eastern world was overwhelmed by a plague so frightful that it can be compared only with the plague at Athens in the Peloponnesian War, and the Black Death which swept across Europe in 1347–1348. A few years before his power had been shaken by an insurrection in Constantinople, called the Nika. While

ıe struggle was still undecided, he was encouraged by the bold ords of the Empress Theodora, who assured him it was better



SAINT SOPHIA.

NOTE. — The interior of the church of Saint Sophia was sheathed in beautiful marbles, and its columns were of porphyry. These are still unharmed, but the mosaics representing saints and angels have been covered because the church is now a mosque.

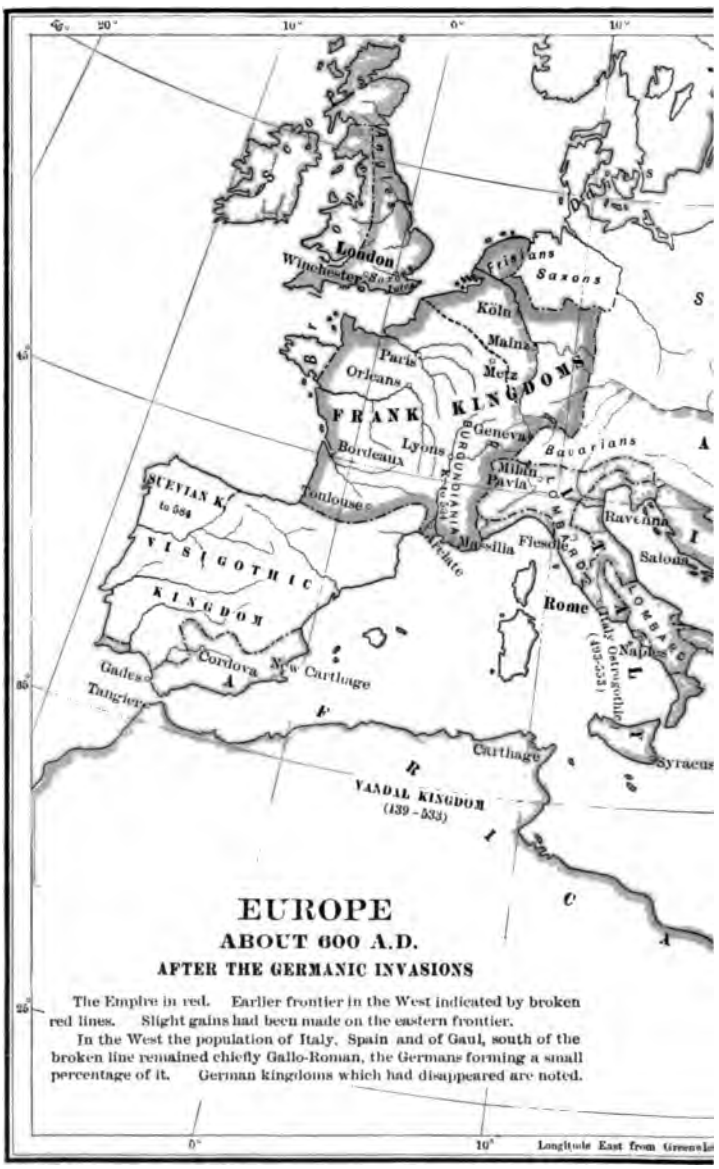
to die on the throne than to live in exile, and who reminded him of an old saying that "Empire is a fair winding sheet."

36. The Doom of Ancient Civilization. — In the century and a half between the march of Alaric and the occupation of Italy by the Lombards, the appearance of western Europe had changed strangely. Whole districts had been depopulated and were now covered with forests infested by dangerous wild beasts. The great roads were no longer safe. Pirates terrorized the seas. Commerce and trade languished. Artisans became scarce, and their work rude and inartistic. For this reason a horse cost less than his bridle. The king of Burgundy searched in vain through his dominions for a mechanic who could construct a water-clock. Industry in the towns languished because each great estate had among its slaves the artisans needed to do the work which was indispensable. The disorder and violence drove men to people the world with imaginary terrors, demons, goblins, and dragons, as if barbarian chieftains and robber lords were not enough. Their notions of nature became as crude and childlike as those of the Greeks before the philosophers and mathematicians had painfully worked out a scientific notion of the world. The shadow of the Dark Ages already lay upon Europe.

SUMMARY

I. The Three Attacks. — 1. Visigothic federates and the Germans beyond the Rhine: (*a*) Alaric's march through Greece and his first repulse in Italy; (*b*) raid of Radagaisus; (*c*) Vandals and Suevi ravage Gaul and Spain; (*d*) sack of Rome; (*e*) Visigothic federates reconquer Spain from Vandals and settle in Garonne valley. 2. Attack of Huns and Vandals: (*a*) Vandals cross into Africa; (*b*) Attila invades Gaul, is repulsed; (*c*) invades Italy, retires; (*d*) Vandals sack Rome; (*e*) Visigothic kingdom in southern Gaul and Spain, Burgundian kingdom in Rhone valley; (*f*) Angles and Saxons begin conquest of Britain. 3. Ostrogoths and Franks: (*a*) Odovacar in control of Italy; (*b*) Theodoric in Italy; (*c*) Chlodwig in northern Gaul.





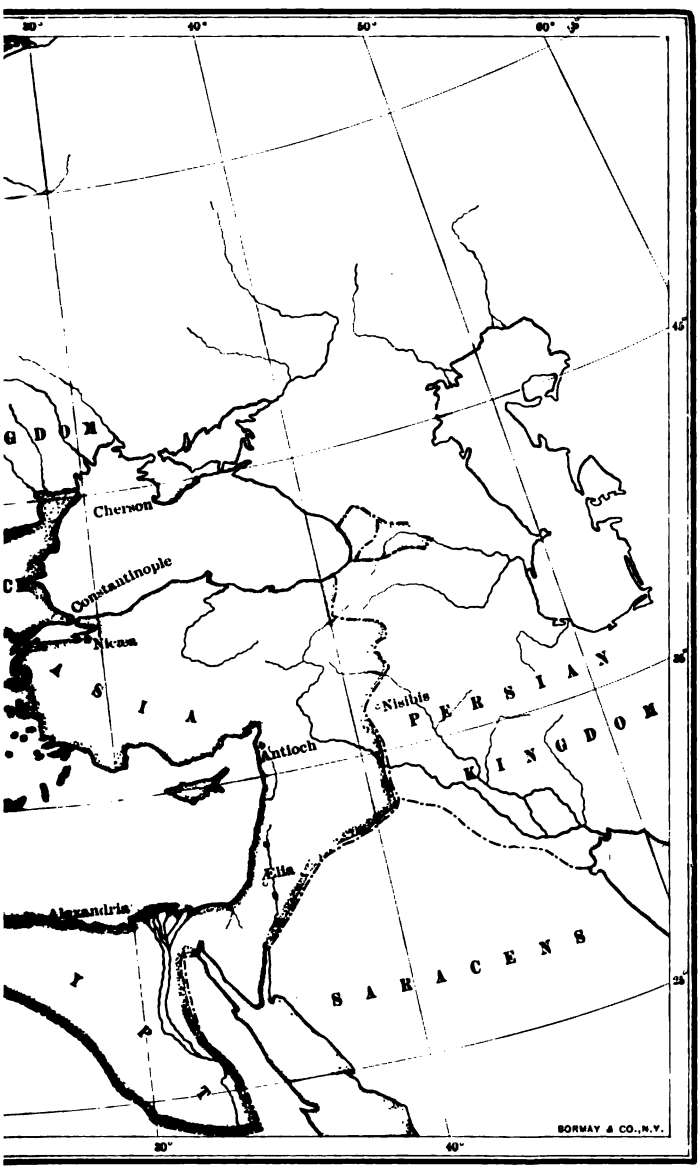
EUROPE

ABOUT 600 A.D.

AFTER THE GERMANIC INVASIONS

The Empire in red. Earlier frontier in the West indicated by broken red lines. Slight gains had been made on the eastern frontier.

In the West the population of Italy, Spain and of Gaul, south of the broken line remained chiefly Gallo-Roman, the Germans forming a small percentage of it. German kingdoms which had disappeared are noted.


30°
40°
50°
60°
45°
35°
25°
Chersonesus
Constantinople
Nicæa
Nisibis
Antioch
Ælia
Alexandria
PERSIAN KINGDOM
SARACENS
BORMAY & CO., N.Y.



II. GERMAN AND ROMAN. — 1. German settlements: (*a*) Visigoths in southern Gaul and Spain; (*b*) Burgundians in Rhone valley; (*c*) Franks in northern Gaul; (*d*) Ostrogoths in Italy; (*e*) Vandals in Africa; (*f*) Angles, Saxons in Britain; (*g*) Lombards in Italy. 2. Destroyers or neighbors: (*a*) compare case of Visigoths and Ostrogoths; (*b*) compare these with case of Franks, or (*c*) of Angles and Saxons. 3. Land settlements: (*a*) Visigothic; (*b*) Frankish; (*c*) Ostrogothic. 4. Law (Theodoric).

III. PARTIAL RECOVERY OF EMPIRE. — 1. Justinian, his work and his conquests. 2. Lombard attack. 3. Portions of old Empire still under imperial control at end of Justinian's reign.

Special Point of View : —

With the aid of books referred to under "Further Study," consider the careers of the defenders and assailants of the Empire (Stilicho, Aëtius, Syagrius, and the generals of Justinian; Alaric, Attila, Chlodwig, Odovacar, and Theodoric), in order to discover additional reasons why the Empire lost in the struggle.

IMPORTANT DATES

378. Battle of Adrianople.
395. Death of Theodosius; administrative division of the Empire.
410. Sack of Rome by Alaric (group minor events in relation to this).
449. Beginning of Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain.
451. Battle of Maurica (Châlons); associate Vandal sack of Rome, 455.
476. Odovacar deposes Romulus Augustulus ("Fall of Rome").
486. Victory of Chlodwig over Syagrius.
493. Theodoric becomes ruler of Italy.
527–565. Reign of Justinian (reconquest of Italy and Africa).
568. Lombard invasion.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading, see list for Chapter I.; add Oman, *Dark Ages.*

PARAGRAPHS : —

21. In studying the general character and consequences of the German invasions compare the accounts in Bright, Green, or Gardiner, for England; in Henderson, for Germany; Adams, Duruy, or Kitchin, Vol. I., for France; Burke, for Spain; Hodgkin, *Dynasty of Theodosius* and *Theodoric* for Italy. See also Dill, pp. 237–318.

PARAGRAPHS:—

22-23. Gothic Invasion, early accounts in Robinson, Nos. 11-13; Thatcher-McNeal, No. 3. Sieges of Rome, Hodgkin, *Theodosius*, 159–167; results of sack, Lanciani, *Destruction of Rome*, Ch. 5. Stilicho, Bury, I., 74 ff.; Hodgkin, *Theodosius*, Villari, *Barbarian Invasions of Italy*.

24. The Goths and Burgundians in Southern Gaul: Kitchin, I., 60; Dill, 288 ff.

25. Huns: description by Ammianus and by Priscus, Robinson, Nos. 10, 14. Full narrative of Priscus, Bury, Vol. I., 213–223. Attila's career, Hodgkin, 169–203; Aëtius, Bury, I., 167 ff. Relation of Attila's invasion to beginnings of Venice, Hodgkin, 199.

26. Nature of "**Fall of Rome**," see Bryce, Ch. 3. Thatcher-McNeal, No. 3. Odovacar, Bury, I., 276 ff.; Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, Chs. 6, 7; Oman, *Dark Ages*, Ch. 1.

27. Coming of the English: Green, 5–14; Green, *Making of England*, Chs. 1–4; Ramsay, I., Ch. 9; Colby, No. 5; Kendall, No. 3.

28. Chlodwig (Clovis): Robinson, No. 17; importance of his conversion, Lavisse, 18–21; Kitchin, I., 69–70; Alzog, II., 46–50.

29–30. Ostrogoths in Italy: Hodgkin, *Theodoric*. Thatcher-McNeal, No. 3. For the owners of the great estates referred to here and in **24**, see **12** and **13**.

31. The New East, see especially Oman's *Byzantine Empire*, Ch. 11.

32. The Roman Law: Morey, 158–163; Gibbon, Ch. 44; Bury, I., 365–371; Wilson, *The State*, 167–174.

33. Victories of Justinian: Bury, I., 381–398; Oman, *Dark Ages*, Chs. 5, 6.

34. Lombards: Bury, II., 145–158; Oman, *Dark Ages*, Ch. 11.

35. The Nika: Gibbon, Ch. 40; Bury, I., 337–345; Munro and Sellery, 87–113.

36. Results of Invasions: Robinson, No. 12; Munro and Sellery, 44–49, 50–59.

Additional Reading: Green, *The Making of England*; Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, 2 vols.; Church, *Early Britain*; Blok, *History of the Netherlands*, 3 vols.; Oman, *Byzantine Empire*; Oman, *Dark Ages* (476–918).



CHAPTER III.

THE CHURCH AND THE MOHAMMEDANS

37. Work of the Church: Borders of Christendom.— At a time when the remnant of the Empire was becoming Greek and when the western provinces were ingulfed in the rising flood of barbarism, the task of guarding the Roman name and something of Roman ideas and institutions passed to the Church. Even Rome itself was to regain through the Church its position of capital as well as a new title to the name "Eternal City." The subdivisions of the Empire were perpetuated in ecclesiastical dioceses and provinces. The Roman law was preserved not merely in its influence upon the laws of the German kingdoms, but also in the laws of the Church, commonly called the canon law. Priests and monks were the teachers and writers, and saved the books of the Romans from utter destruction. Almost all that we mean by civilization took refuge within the protecting enclosure of church or monastery walls. In this way the Church rendered less disastrous the wreck of the Empire and maintained a bond of union between peoples otherwise enemies. Furthermore, it took up a work which the Empire had long abandoned, and pushed the frontiers of civilization northward into Germany, the Scandinavian Peninsula, and Russia. Meanwhile a power arose in the East which robbed the Empire of more than half the territory it still controlled, and which menaced even the Christian peoples of the West. This was Islam or Mohammedanism. The two centuries which followed the death of Justinian saw this new invasion roll over Syria and Africa, and penetrate into Europe as far as the valley of the Loire.

38. Growth of the Bishop's Power.—Wherever the German invaders put an end to the imperial rule or undertook to direct it themselves, the conquered Romans naturally turned to their bishops for protection. Even before the invasions the bishops had been something more than rulers of the Church. They managed the property given or bequeathed to it, especially after the reign of Constantine. From the early days of Christianity the brethren had been taught to bring their disputes before them for settlement. Constantine ordered that at the request of one of the parties to a civil case it be transferred to the bishop's court. Although this privilege disappeared later, the bishops retained control of civil cases in which priests were involved. When the invasions had interrupted trade and commerce, and had destroyed much of the wealth that could be seized and carried away, the only form of wealth that remained fairly secure was land. Whoever could keep large estates was a great man because he could care for many dependents, and these dependents could work and, if need be, fight for him. Such a powerful landlord the Church was speedily coming to be, and it took advantage, as did all other great landlords, of the fact that property and power went together. Consequently the collapse of the imperial administration, instead of seriously crippling the Church, was one of the causes of increasing its influence. If the bishop was to be looked to for protection, it was also natural that he should be chosen from among those who were already rich and influential, especially if they were men who had had experience in managing affairs. Many of the prominent bishops of the fifth century in Italy and Gaul were chosen from the senatorial class, that is, from among the wealthiest nobles. Gradually they took into their hands matters which had once belonged to the imperial officers. In Italy, after Justinian had restored the authority of the Empire, each city had its count or tribune as well as its bishop, but often it was the bishop rather than the tribune who was the real ruler. Into his hands passed at least the duties of the "defender," the care of the poor, and



the maintenance of public works. As soon as the Germans abandoned their Arianism, the bishop could be looked upon no longer as an enemy by any of the contending peoples, — Goth, Burgundian, Lombard, or Greek, — because all professed the same faith. This freed his position from the ordinary dangers of rule in such times. Although there were bad as well as good bishops, the increase in their power was on the whole a great advantage. They understood better than any one outside of Constantinople the way the old government had been carried on.

39. The Papacy. — If the ordinary bishop gained in influence during these centuries of strife, the greatest gainer was the bishop of Rome, who in Italy by the fifth century was coming to be called "pope" to distinguish him from other bishops. The Roman Church was the richest of all, possessing estates in Italy, Africa, and other parts of the West. Not only was the pope, by the end of the sixth century, superior to the representative of the emperor in Rome, but the city itself was organized like a big parish. It was divided into quarters, at the head of each of which was placed a deacon. The life of the whole community centred in the churches or basilicas. Outside of Rome the magic of the Roman name was enough to give the pope his unique position among the bishops of the world. This was strengthened by the belief that the church at Rome had been founded by Peter, the "Prince of the Apostles," to whom Christ had said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church: and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." The popes urged that to Peter, and to them as his successors, the care of guarding the doctrines of the Church had been intrusted. They were practical minds, not inclined, as were their brethren in Constantinople and the East, to stray away into curious investigations upon the mystery of God's nature and of the union of the human and the divine in Christ's personality. Very few western bishops attended the Church councils where these questions were debated. When the pope did interfere, it was rather as an arbiter or judge who

came to settle the controversy. His representative presided over the council of Chalcedon, which met in 451, the year Attila was ravaging Gaul, and his letter to the council contained the words which were embodied in the Nicene creed about the two natures of Christ. To this reputation for right teaching or orthodoxy, in which they had no rivals, the popes added much actual power. By the council of Nicæa (325) they had been given jurisdiction over Italy. In the West there was no church which could equal theirs in antiquity or in prominence, so that while the bishops of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria claimed an equality with the bishop of Rome, no western bishops in later days put forward such a claim. To the papal claim of control beyond the confines of Italy over the whole West Valentinian III. gave the support of an imperial decree. The belief gained ground that the Church was one, and that its head was the successor of Peter, the Vicar of Christ, who presided at Rome. Just how far the idea would be carried out and in what ways it would affect the actual administration of the Church depended upon circumstances, and chiefly upon the patient persistence and skill with which, decade after decade, the popes urged their claims and managed the affairs which came into their hands.

40. Origin of Monasticism. — The work of the Church in staying the ruin of ancient civilization was aided by companies of men whose aim might, at first glance, seem inconsistent with the existence of society itself. These men were monks, grouped under the direction of abbots in monasteries scattered all over the West. Those who first led the way in this manner of living were moved by a sense of the seriousness of the conflict within them between the desire to do right and to be pure and the temptation to seek their own pleasures, even if these were ignoble and vicious. Their decision to turn away from the world was increased by the violence which swept like an epidemic through the Empire as the authority of the law was less respected and as bands of marauding Romans or barbarians went about attacking towns and maltreating the

inhabitants. They became convinced that in his Gospel Jesus called some to a higher life, one which should be a closer imitation of the life of him who had no place where to lay his head, and no mother nor any brethren save those who did the will of God. They longed to yield to him a completer obedience than was possible to those who remained in the world and continued to own lands and to have wives and children. Obscurely combined with these feelings was the belief that about earthly relationships there was a taint which they must seek to escape. Some of the early Christians of the East who looked at the world in this way sold their property, separated themselves from their families, and retired into the deserts to mortify the flesh and to live wholly in thoughts of God. Even here evil beset them, for the body, tortured by hunger, thirst, the heats of the desert, and utter loneliness, retaliated, vexing the mind with dreams of dreadful monsters or visions of the earthly temptations embodied in shapes irresistibly alluring. Bitter experience taught some of the hermits a wiser plan. They withdrew from the desert and gathered other like-minded men into houses or monasteries, where they lived under the direction of a leader and according to a rule. Similar houses were also founded for women. The great lawgiver of the monasteries of the West was Benedict, who, in 528, while Justinian was beginning his work at Constantinople, built on the ruins of a pagan temple in southern Italy the famous monastery of Monte Casino.

41. Benedictine Rule. — The Rule which Benedict drew up for his monks was adopted or imitated everywhere, and the order named Benedictine became the most influential of those of its type. Although Benedict had been a hermit, he marked out in his Rule a way of living in strong contrast to the hermit life, which caused the monks to become useful path breakers for the new civilization. "Idleness," he declared, "is the enemy of the soul." In consequence, the monks were to occupy themselves either with manual labor or in reading. Wherever a Benedictine monastery was placed, the forests were cleared and the fields were cultivated. Much land, which on account

of the disorder of the times had become wild, was reclaimed. The monks spread the tradition of good farming. In order that all the brethren might have books to read, some of them were kept at work copying sacred writings, and even the Roman writers, whose Latin was still admired and imitated. It was in this way that many Roman books were preserved. The system not only dignified labor, which had to so great an extent in



ABBEY OF MONTMAJOUR.

In southeastern France. Part of the ruins date from the sixth century. Its position as well as its walls and great tower made it virtually into a strong fortress.

ancient society been left to slaves, it also refused to distinguish between the slave and the freeman. Although the monk was vowed to poverty, the monastery in which he lived might become rich and he might enjoy some of the benefits of wealth. As generous persons began to leave lands or money to these establishments, they became landowners, managing their estates through stewards. The estates of the Abbey of St. Germain-

des-Prés, a monastery which stood just outside mediæval Paris, eventually covered nearly 800 square miles.

42. Monks as Missionaries. — The monasteries not merely helped to redeem the country from desolation and preserved literature, they were the centres from which missionaries were sent to extend the Christian faith among tribes which had never been reached. During the fifth and sixth centuries, when the Saxons and Angles were driving the Britons westward, British Christianity took refuge in Ireland. Monasteries and churches were built everywhere. The monks industriously copied ancient books. So full of zeal and so learned were these monks that Ireland won the name of the Isle of the Saints. From Ireland Saint Columba crossed to Scotland about 563, and at Iona, an island not far from Fingal's cave, founded a monastery which became a centre for the spread of Christianity through Scotland and the northern part of the England of the Angles and the Saxons.

43. Pope Gregory (590–604), and the Mission to England. — The first pope to make use of the monks as missionaries was Gregory the Great. He was of noble birth and had risen to be prefect of Rome. Afterward he suddenly broke off his public career, turned his palace into a monastery, and became its abbot. When in 590, notwithstanding his protests, he was chosen pope, Italy was in a desperate condition. As he wrote in one of his letters: "The cities are destroyed, the castles torn down, the fields laid waste, . . . villages are empty. . . . We see how some are carried into captivity, others mutilated, others slain. . . . If we love such a world, we love not our joys, but our wounds." He deserved the name "Great" because he did much to lessen these miseries by holding the ruthless Lombards in check, by redeeming captives, and by using the income of Church estates to relieve the poor and the suffering. His care was also extended over the churches of the West, where, without constantly asserting his supremacy as bishop of Rome, he sought to introduce more order and justice. While he took for the bishop of Rome the humble title *servus servorum dei*

(servant of God's servants), he rebuked the pretensions of the bishop of Constantinople that the See of New Rome was equal in dignity to the church founded by Peter. With all these labors he had time to improve the ritual of the Church and its music. He did not forget the ideals of his monastic life. As pope he was surrounded by monks. The Rule of Benedict was confirmed through his influence by a Church council. He also determined to use the monks as missionaries. This was partly because he had himself wanted to become a missionary. One day while he was an abbot he saw in the Roman slave market three fair-haired boys for sale. He inquired who they were and the reply was Angles. "Angels," he exclaimed, "yes, they have faces like angels, and they should become companions of the angels in heaven." Since he could not go to England when he became pope, he sent the prior of his monastery, Augustine, and forty monks, who in 597 established themselves at Canterbury in the kingdom of Kent.

44. British and Roman Missionaries. — Canterbury was the southern centre from which the work of converting the heathen Anglo-Saxons was pushed steadily on. There was great jealousy between the Scottish and Irish missionaries and these newcomers from Rome, for Ireland and Scotland had so long been cut off from Europe that their religious customs were different from the customs which the influence of Rome was spreading everywhere. The quarrel threatened to be long and bitter, but it was ended by King Oswiu of Northumberland, who, at the conference of Whitby, in 664, decided for the Roman party because he feared lest Peter, the bearer of the keys of heaven, might some day refuse him entrance were he disobedient to the commands of the Romans. It was fortunate that the affair was so decided, for otherwise England might have remained less open to influences from the Continent and to the new civilization which was to grow up there.

45. Boniface, Apostle to the Germans. — A little over a century after Gregory had sent Augustine to convert the Anglo-Saxons, another Pope Gregory found in one of these converted



Anglo-Saxons a missionary to the Germans beyond the Rhine. His name was Boniface. He was not the first to work among the Germans, for monks had come over from Ireland and Scotland and had prepared the way. Unlike them Boniface was anxious in all things to follow the leadership of the pope. He took an oath of obedience in 722, promising to have no communion with those who did not do as the successors of Peter taught or who should resist their authority. The work of Boniface lay in what is now southern and western Germany. Everywhere he sought to root out pagan superstitions and substitute Christian ceremonies for the rites venerated by the people. Before an awe-stricken multitude he cut down the sacred oak of Geismar and constructed a Christian chapel out of the wood. He was so successful that the pope made him archbishop and gave him power to establish bishoprics. Among those which afterward became centres of a better civilization were Regensburg, Salzburg, and Wurzburg, and also the monastery of Fulda. Supported by the Frankish rulers, Charles Martel and Pepin, he reformed the Frankish Church, which was sorely troubled by bishops and abbots who were often either passionate huntsmen or plunderers rather than shepherds of the people. Several bishoprics and abbeys had been seized by laymen. Toward the end of his life the archbishopric of Mainz was created for him and became the Church capital of Germany. Notwithstanding these successes Boniface longed to return to his missionary work. He went to Frisia, where the pagan party was still strong, and there in 755 he was murdered.

46. Gains and Losses of Christendom. — Through the work of men like Augustine and Boniface Britain, now becoming England, was won again to Christianity, and the frontier of the rude Christian civilization of the day was pushed beyond the Rhine. Scotland and Ireland had also been territorial gains to Christendom made since the collapse of the Empire. These were some compensation for the losses in the east and south, where whole regions were torn away by the victorious Moslems, and where for centuries Christianity had to defend itself.

47. Religion in Arabia: Mohammed (571–632). — Somewhat inland from the eastern shore of the Red Sea lies the city of Mecca. Here Mohammed was born six years after the death of Justinian. At this time the Arab tribes were not united



THE KAABA

At Mecca. The chief sanctuary of Islam. First erected, according to the legend, by Abraham and Ishmael. Form: a cube, 40 feet long, 33 feet wide, 50 feet high. In its walls is set the sacred black stone. This was broken by fire in 683, but its parts were held together in a setting of silver. The Kaaba has been reconstructed several times since Mohammed's day. The building is covered with a heavy black silk damask — the sacred carpet — which is replaced by a new one each year.

under a single rule, nor did they all have the same religious customs, although there were signs of a change which would bring them together. The principal shrine, the Kaaba at Mecca, was becoming the centre of the religious life of the whole race. Within its walls were gathered more than three hundred of the local gods and here was the stone which the Angel Gabriel had

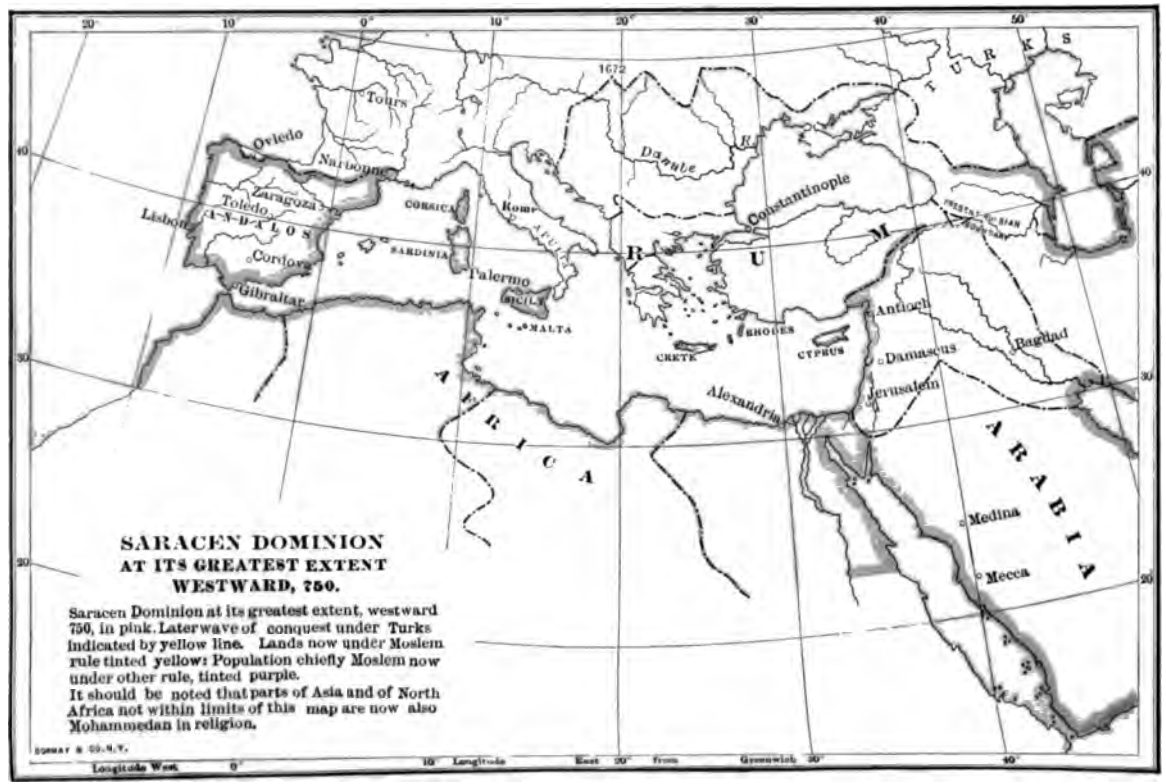
brought, and which had lost its dazzling whiteness, blackened by the sins of those who touched it. Although the people were idolaters, there were teachers who declared that earlier there had been a purer religion, in which Allah, or God, alone was worshipped. Such men were especially open to the influence of Jewish and Christian ideas which came in from the neighboring Palestine. Before Mohammed became a religious teacher he was regarded as a just man, who could be trusted to settle fairly the disputes which were brought to him. There was something also that marked him as of a nature different and greater than his fellows. He was fortunate in winning the love of a distant relative, the rich widow Kadijah, into whose service he had entered as a commercial agent. After his marriage with her, freed from the need of earning a livelihood, his thoughts turned more and more to the religious questions which were troubling the minds of other Arabs. He often wandered upon the mountains fasting. Soon he had visions and heard voices, as it were the voices of angels. At first he was afraid that demons were vexing him or that he was going mad, but Kadijah reassured him, believing it was truly the Angel Gabriel who had spoken. He gave himself up to this strange experience. It was long before even his own family was convinced that he was a prophet. When first he declared himself, they laughed him to scorn. As gradually the little band of disciples increased, the guardians of the Kaaba began to look upon him as a dangerous man and finally resolved to kill him. He knew of their design and fled, September 24, 622, to a town where he already had adherents and which took the name Medina. This flight, or Hegira, was regarded by his followers as the beginning of a new era.

48. Teachings and Triumphs of Mohammed. — What Mohammed heard in his visions he recited to his disciples, who afterward gathered these sayings into a book called the Koran, which means recitation. The deep-seated conviction which underlay all his thought was submission to the will of God, and from this came the name Islam, which describes his reli-

gious system. Entire submission implied that God was all-powerful, and Mohammed also taught that there is but one God and taught this so zealously that idolaters became the special enemies of his followers. He regarded himself as the last and greatest of the prophets. Believers must not only accept his message, they must also pray, fast, give alms, and go on pilgrimages. Since he recognized the Old Testament worthies and Jesus also as prophets, it was hard for the ignorant Christian peoples who first came in contact with his doctrines to regard them otherwise than as some new heresy not very different from a vigorous kind of Arianism. A change had come over Mohammed's mild and dreamy temperament since he had been bitterly ridiculed and persecuted. He came to regard his enemies as the enemies of Allah, and their property as the spoil of true believers. Not long after he fled to Medina he began to offer them the plunder of the caravans of Mecca. In the hard fighting which ensued the military ardor of his followers, their love of plunder, and their burning faith were all welded into one confused mass of feeling, which later was to send them to the conquest of many Roman provinces. Mecca itself yielded eight years after the Hegira, and soon all Arabia submitted. Mohammed was preparing an expedition against Syria when he died.

49. Conquests of the Mohammedans. — The followers of Mohammed immediately began to quarrel over the question who should take his place as religious and national leader. This quarrel led to murders, and was eventually to divide the Mohammedans into two hostile sects, but it did not keep them from hastening to the spoil of the Empire and of its antagonist, the Persian kingdom. Their march of conquest led in two directions, to the east beyond the Caspian and even to the Indus, and along the northern coast of Africa into Spain and southern Gaul. Their eastern victories account for the fact that there are now in India fifty million Mohammedans. Of the Empire, Syria was the first to suffer. In 634, within two years of Mohammed's death, Jerusalem was captured. In Egypt it





SARACEN DOMINION
AT ITS GREATEST EXTENT
WESTWARD, 750.

Saracen Dominion at its greatest extent, westward 750, in pink. Later wave of conquest under Turks indicated by yellow line. Lands now under Moslem rule tinted yellow: Population chiefly Moslem now under other rule, tinted purple.

It should be noted that parts of Asia and of North Africa not within limits of this map are now also Mohammedan in religion.



happened that the native population was looked upon by the Greek bishops as heretics on the question of Christ's humanity. The natives had suffered so much from persecution, as well as from the imperial tax-gatherers, that they opened their cities to the Arabian armies. Alexandria was taken by assault in 641. Farther west, in north Africa, the Berbers had always been restless under Roman rule and readily joined the Mohammedans in the attacks upon the strongholds of the Empire. The Berbers made up the bulk of the Moslem army that early in the eighth century crossed into Spain. The Visigothic monarchy had long been weak. The poorer people were crushed under the tyranny of the great, whether these were Visigoths or descendants of the ancient Roman provincials, so that there was no national resistance, and the whole peninsula except the northwest was soon overrun. The tide of conquest was not checked until it reached the plains of Tours. Here, near Poitiers, the Franks under Charles Martel gathered, in 732, to withstand the invader. The fierce charges of the Moslem cavalry could not break the ranks of the Frankish spearmen. The Moslem leader, Abd-er-Rahman, was killed in the fray. When the next morning the Franks advanced to battle, they found nothing but the deserted camp of the enemy. This did not end the struggle. For years the south was desolated by Moslem expeditions. Gradually strife broke out in north Africa, and the stream of plunderers was dried at its source.

50. Saracen Civilization. — This victory of the Franks, generally called the battle of Tours, was as important to western civilization as the triumph of Aëtius at Maurica three hundred years before. The Moslems, it is true, after their conquest of the ancient seats of knowledge in Egypt and Syria, learned much from their Greek subjects. Their scholars sought to carry the sciences of geography, astronomy, and mathematics still farther than the Greeks had brought them. They gave the race name to the "Arabic" numerals, which greatly simplified arithmetical calculation. They perfected algebra and

introduced it in Europe. They also studied enthusiastically the Greek philosophers, especially Aristotle. It was through a translation from an Arabic version that western scholars first studied Aristotle. The Saracens, as the eastern Moslems came to be called, had been deeply influenced by the Persians, a



MOSQUE OF CORDOVA.

Begun by Abd-er-Rahman I., founder in 755 of the emirate of Cordova. Some of its twelve hundred columns, of porphyry, jasper, and rare marbles, were taken from Nimes and Narbonne; others were given by the emperor at Constantinople. After Cordova was captured by Ferdinand III. of Castile in 1236 the mosque was transformed into a Christian church.

people which had rivalled the Greeks not only in war but also in the arts of peace. Arab merchants traded with China, with India, and the Spice Islands. Like the ancient Phœnicians, they quickly acquired what was known by each people and were often able to surpass their teachers, so that later they taught much to western peoples. In the days of Harun-al-

Rashid, who reigned from 786 to 809, famous through the stories of the *Arabian Nights*, Bagdad was the capital of a world superior in civilization to western Europe and rivalled only by Constantinople. Nevertheless, it was better for the new peoples of the West to control their own future and to build slowly and painfully a civilization sounder than that of the Saracens.

SUMMARY

I. **The Church.** — 1. Service to civilization: (*a*) perpetuates Roman methods and culture; (*b*) extends the borders of civilization. 2. Organization: (*a*) power of bishops; (*b*) the pope as a ruler and as head of the western Church. 3. Monasticism: (*a*) motive; (*b*) the hermits; (*c*) the monastic life; (*d*) Rule of Benedict. 4. Missionary enterprises: (*a*) in north Britain; (*b*) among the Angles and Saxons; (*c*) among the Germans.

II. **Islam.** — 1. Origin: (*a*) condition of Arabia; (*b*) career of Mohammed; (*c*) Koran. 2. Mohammedan conquests, east and west. 3. Saracen civilization.

Special Points of View: —

1. Compare the frontiers of the Christendom of the undivided Roman Empire under Theodosius with the boundaries of Christendom after they had been extended by the missionaries but had been narrowed on the east and south by Moslem victories. 2. The great men of the period, — Benedict of Nursia, Gregory the Great, Boniface, Mohammed.

IMPORTANT DATES

528. Benedict founds monastery of Monte Casino.
590. Gregory I. becomes pope; (597, Augustine lands in Britain).
622. September 24, — the Hegira.
732. Battle of Tours.
755. Death of Boniface.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: see Ch. I.

Paragraphs: —

38. The Bishops, their influence, see Dill, 179–186; Alzog, I., 659–663, II., 125–137; Cunningham, 20–23. On "Defender," see **10**.

PARAGRAPHS: —

39. The Papacy: Adams, Ch. 6; Alzog, I., 663–677, II., 138–141; for contemporary views of the origin of papal power, see Robinson, Ch. 4.

40–41. Monasticism: the Rule of Benedict, in Henderson, 274–314, significant paragraphs, 23, 27, 33, 39, 48, 55, 58; Thatcher-McNeal, Nos. 251–264; a briefer selection in Jones, No. 6; selections from monastic writings, Robinson, Nos. 32–34; see also Jessopp, Ch. 3; Alzog, I., 744–755; Munro and Sellery, 129–158; Emerton, Ch. 11.

42. Missionaries: Munro and Sellery, 114–128; Milman, II., 236–259; Alzog, II., 96–120.

43–44. Conversion of the English, from Bede, in Robinson, Nos. 39–42; briefer selections in Colby, No. 6; Kendall, No. 4.

45. Letters of the Pope, Boniface's oath, accounts from contemporary lives of Boniface, in Robinson, Nos. 43–47. To understand one of the results of such labors, see a map of Germany in the Middle Ages showing the amount of territory ruled by bishops or abbots, especially Droysen's *Handatlas*, pp. 30–31.

47–50. Selections from Koran, in Jones, No. 3; briefer in Robinson, No. 48. See, further, Muir, Bury, Vol. 2, 258–273; Gilman, Burke, I., 121–132; Lane-Poole; Oman's *Byzantine Empire*, Ch. 12. The triumph of the Moslems wrested from European civilization those parts of the Mediterranean basin which the Greeks and the Romans had won, chiefly from the Phœnicians and Carthaginians. See map 4.

Additional Reading: Hatch, *Growth of Church Institutions;* Jessopp, *The Coming of the Friars;* Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, 7 vols.; Muir, *Mahomet*, also *The Coran, its Composition and Teaching;* Lane, *Selections from the Ku-an;* Lane-Poole, *The Speeches and Table-Talk of the Prophet Mohammed; The Arabian Nights' Entertainment;* Gilman, *Saracens;* Lane-Poole. *Moors in Spain;* Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, 8 vols

CHAPTER IV.

THE BEGINNINGS OF NEW PEOPLES

51. The New Home of Civilization. — Nearly two centuries lay between the later German invasions and the Moslem defeat on the plains of Tours. During this period the distinction between German conqueror and conquered Roman was slowly disappearing, and in its place came those differences of locality, dialect, customs, and feelings which marked the beginnings of new nations. The rights which the strong had exercised over the weak in spite of the Roman laws became characteristic and pointed to a new organization of society called feudalism, which, after a century, was to supersede Roman society in the West. In the East the Empire had become more Greek. Many of its provinces had been conquered by the Moslems. The Danube frontier had also been overpassed by Slavic and Bulgarian invaders. The increasing weakness of the Empire and the loss to Christendom of the southern shore of the Mediterranean showed that the new civilization, unlike the ancient, was not to be centred about the Mediterranean, but was to lie farther north and west.

52. Quarrels over the Frankish Heritage. — The growth of a single nation composed of Franks and Gallo-Romans was hindered by the custom of dividing territory, like ordinary property, among the heirs of the royal house. After the death of Chlodwig, in 511, there was a long and bloody series of wars. Each son or grandson or great-grandson wished a share of the heritage larger than those of his brothers or of his cousins. When they were not fighting for territory, they were trying to capture one another's treasures, their hoarded gold, or their

jewels. It is true they retained a notion that their power was really one, and often their capitals lay near together. When the kingdom was divided between the four sons of Chlodwig, the royal cities were Rheims, Soissons, Paris, and Orleans. Occasionally one would arise who better understood the need of substituting for equal rights of inheritance the right of the eldest to the whole patrimony, and who desired to revive the Roman ideas of authority and to restore the Roman system of taxation. Such a one was Brunehaut, a Visigothic princess, who, in 567, brought to her Frankish husband, King Sigebert, the traditions of Roman civilization which still lingered in Spain. Her long life was filled by terrible feuds either with her rival Fredegond, the low-born wife of Sigebert's brother Chilperic, or with her nobles. In her old age the nobles triumphed and wreaked upon her a frightful vengeance. They tied her to the tails of wild horses, lashed these to fury, and so tore her limb from limb. Such horrible crimes were sometimes followed by equally terrifying remorse. The story is told of a Burgundian king, who, maddened by the suspicions with which his second wife filled his mind against his first wife's son, caused the young man to be strangled. Overcome by remorse he hastened to a monastery, drove from the neighborhood all the inhabitants so that its devotions might not be disturbed by worldly sounds or temptations, and ordered the monks to plead night and day for his pardon. Such races of kings were at length worn out by passion and violence. They were incapable of uniting Franks and Gallo-Romans for a great career.

53. The Mayors of the Palace. — Among the royal officers there was a steward or overseer called the *major domus*, or mayor of the palace. At first his duties were scarcely more important than those performed by any nobleman's steward, but eventually, because he stood so near the king's person and managed his estates, he succeeded in gathering into his own hands the reins of power, even the command of the army. After a time the king lost the right of selecting his mayor of the palace and the position was taken by the man who was

leader of the nobles. Each of the Frankish kingdoms had an official of this sort. Pepin, one of those who overthrew Brunehaut, became mayor of the palace in Austrasia, or eastern Frankland. The long civil wars resulted in sowing permanent enmity between Austrasia and the western country or Neustria. This has given rise to the tradition that there was some real difference between the peoples of the two regions. In their rivalry Austrasia was to triumph through the energy of Pepin's grandson, a second Pepin, who, with the aid of discontented Neustrian nobles, conquered the Neustrian mayor of the palace at Testry, in 687, and gained firm control over both kingdoms. From this time on the Merovingian house, as the descendants of Chlodwig were called, ceased to rule and merely reigned, for power passed into the hands of Pepin. There were for many years no more divisions made of the kingdom. Pepin recognized the king who ruled in Neustria as sole king of the Franks. It was over half a century before his family dared depose the Merovingians and take the crown.

54. The Limits of Francia. — During this period the Franks ceased to look chiefly to the south for land to conquer. They turned about and sought to bring under their rule the tribes which had occupied the abandoned homes of the first invaders. These included the Germans on both sides of the Main in the region later called Franconia, and the Thuringians between the Weser and the Saale. They also attacked the Saxons whose haunts lay farther northwest. On the east their authority was acknowledged by the Bavarians on the banks of the Lech. This tribe had lived in Bohemia, a region named from the Celtic *Boii*, whom Cæsar mentions. When forced to retire before the advancing Slavs the tribe retained the name, transformed into *Baiowarii*, or Bavarians.

55. The Foundations of England. — In Britain hindrances to unity were greater than in Gaul. The tribes who crossed the North Sea as conquerors possessed no unity. They had been less influenced by Roman ideas than other Germans. Nor did these ideas reach them through the conquered Britons, for

the British population was almost wholly swept away, especially in the eastern part of the island. Moreover, Christianity had made no converts among them until over a century after their first settlements. The early history of these settlements is a dreary catalogue of battles with Britons or conflicts with each other. Now one tribal king and now another would gain the mastery and take the lead against the stubborn foe. The names of several of these little kingdoms have been preserved in English county names, — Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent. Gradually the kingdoms along the eastern and southeastern shore became more peaceful, contenting themselves with the lands they held. The interminable task of war passed to those farther west and north. Since these tribes also were not in great need of land, they gradually ceased to drive the Britons from their homes and sought only to conquer or enslave them. Among the fighting western kingdoms supremacy belonged to Northumberland, particularly in the first half of the seventh century, or Mercia, in the eighth century, but finally to Wessex, which early in the ninth century was to give to the English their first real king, Egbert. After Christianity had won over the English, the newly organized Church did much to bring the scattered peoples to a feeling of unity. In Gaul the tendency toward division was so strong that, by and by, there were held no councils at which all the Frankish bishops could be present; but in England, partly because there were so many little kingdoms, the Church triumphed over this obstacle, and gave



RUINS OF THE ROMAN WALL AT LEICESTER

In Roman times called *Ratæ*, an important station on the Fosse road.



the English in its councils their first example of organized unity. This was another fortunate consequence of the victory of the Roman party over the British party at the synod of Whitby.

56. The Lombards, the Empire, and the Papacy. — In Italy the Lombards were unable to conquer the domains of the Empire and unite the peninsula under a single rule like that of Theodoric. Had they succeeded, the course of Italian history would have been like that of Frankish or English history. Italy would not have remained for more than a thousand years simply a "geographical expression." Their failure was not due to their early conversion to Arianism, for this they abandoned and became zealous protectors of the Church. It was due, at first, to the stout defence of the Roman towns; but, afterward, to the determination of the popes not to have a master so energetic, so ambitious, and so near at hand as the Lombard king. The emperor had been distant and his representative, the exarch, had been the pope's rival rather than his ruler.

57. The Old Order Changes. — Meanwhile, all through the West, Roman methods of government had been generally abandoned. The territorial city, especially in the northern part of Gaul, was subdivided. In both Gaul and Italy, including Greek as well as Lombard Italy, all the local governmental powers were gradually put into the hands of a count or duke or tribune. Occasionally in Gaul several of these divisions under counts were united under a duke. In eastern Gaul there came to be a duke of Champagne, a duke of Alsace, and a duke of Burgundy. Beyond the Rhine these dukes were really tribal chiefs or kings. The only way the king could restrain the count was by sending emissaries or inspectors called *missi*, but as yet they appeared too infrequently to serve the purpose. When the count was a tyrant, treating brutally those in his power, it often happened that the richer landowners in the region asked of the king the privilege of having their estate free or *immune* from the intrusion of the

count or his officers. If the king made such a grant of immunity, the one who received it administered justice and collected taxes within his own domain, and the king alone had the right to interfere with him. At first he turned over the proceeds of the taxes to the royal officers, but a time came when the old system of taxation disappeared or lingered in other forms. In this case sometimes the landowner continued to collect from the serfs or *coloni* on his estate the land tax as a yearly charge due him personally. The same might be done by a count or duke himself did he have estates in the locality. After the beginning of the seventh century it was customary in Gaul to choose counts from among the local landowners and to give them as salary the use of certain estates. The result of all these things was that the common people could hardly tell what powers the counts had as royal officers and what as rich landowners. The two, land and power, began to go together.

58. The New Nobility. — The richer landlords and the royal officers had another source of influence. Much as the early German war chiefs gathered about them youths ambitious of winning glory in fighting, so these new nobles admitted into their families boys or young men who wished to seek honors or places of power. In return for this favor they felt bound to serve faithfully their patron. Others sought the same privileges for still more practical reasons, either because the law gave them little protection against their enemies or because they hoped for some privilege beyond their reach unless they were supported by a great name. To be received in this way by a noble was called recommendation, somewhat as in the case of the petty landowners of the later Roman Empire. Such agreements were not enforced by law, but they were supported by custom, and the custom of one day may become the next day's law. So common was this arrangement that names began to be found for the patron and for his followers. The patron was called a *senior*, a word which was to develop in France into the mediæval *seigneur*. His man or follower was named a *vassus*, or vassal, in England a *gesith*, later

a *thegn*. There were even beginnings of a gradation in such patronage, for the count might be specially recommended to the duke, and he to the king.

59. Land. — Before the middle of the eighth century another thing became common, which also looked toward the new society which was forming. When the Franks first came into Gaul, the kings had given much land to their followers without any expectation of taking it again. The Church, into whose hands land also passed, but from which it did not return, devised a way to use its surplus land without losing the title to it. A landless man would ask the bishop or abbot that the use of a piece of land be granted him as a favor or benefit (*per beneficium*). This land was granted either for a definite number of years or for one or two lifetimes. It did not become hereditary. It was quite naturally called a benefice, for it was a real favor. The later Merovingian kings, or the mayors of the palace, thought it a good plan to grant out Church lands in this way with or without the consent of the Church, and, finally, they began to make the same use of their own lands. Such grants of benefices might or might not be made to those who had recommended themselves. As yet there was no connection between the two acts. Had the acceptance of a piece of land as a benefice necessarily carried with it the performance of definite duties as a vassal, the feudal system would already have been in existence.

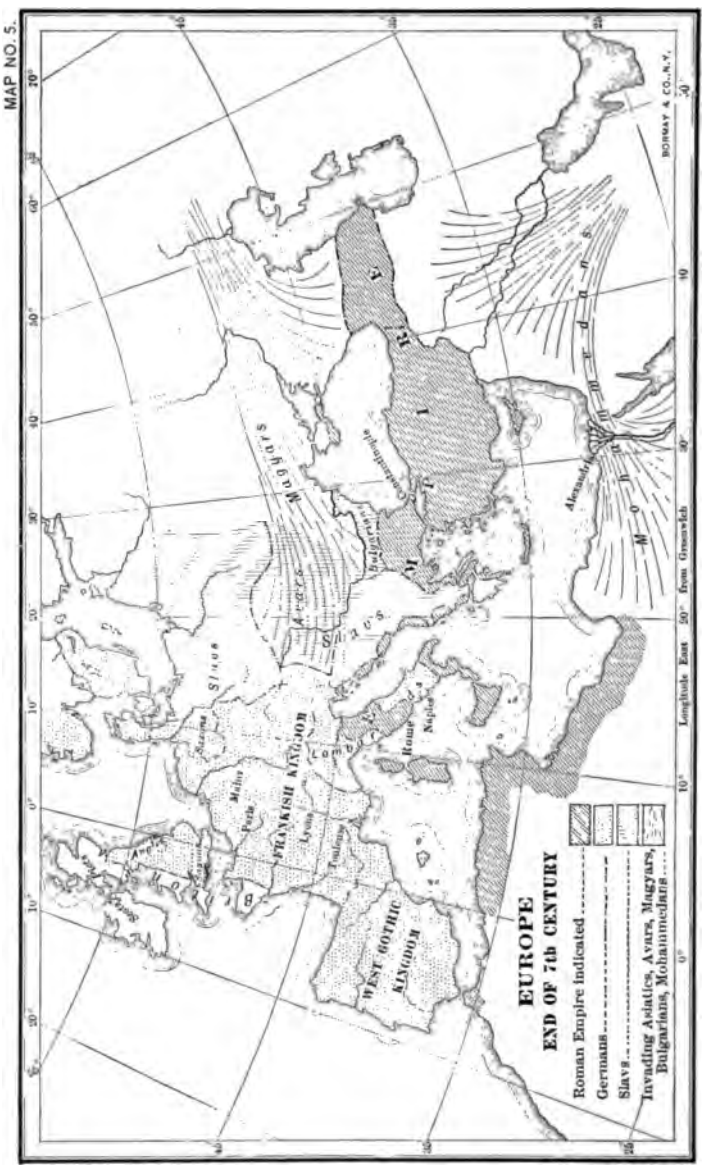
60. The People. — Although the number of those who still owned small farms was decreasing as the process of recommendation went on, there were still the same classes of men which were found in the later Empire, — slaves, freedmen, *coloni*, and free farmers, mechanics, or merchants. In England the number of freemen was relatively large because the British population had been exterminated rather than enslaved, and because the proportion of slaves and freemen among the Germans was smaller than in an old Roman community like Gaul. The European cities had lost so many of their inhabitants that crops could occasionally be raised within their walls.

Other crops could be cultivated in lands lying close at hand, so that there came to be little traffic between country and town. The villas or villages of the great landowners gathered within their own limits the few simple industries that were necessary. This, in turn, injured the towns, depriving them of their market. In only a few towns did the greater industries succeed in maintaining a show of their former activity. The Italian cities were stronger than those in Gaul, although many of them had been forever ruined by the Lombard wars. The nobility which grew up never could free themselves altogether from the influence of these towns. They became to a greater degree than the Frankish lords a city nobility.

61. The Byzantine Empire from 565 to 717. — The Empire's losses had been great, but its lands were still imposing in extent. Although the northern frontier had been pushed back to the Balkans by the Bulgarians, and Slavic settlers were finding homes everywhere in the Balkan peninsula, the imperial domain included what is now Servia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina. It extended westward around the northern end of the Adriatic and halfway down the eastern coast of Italy. From Ravenna it controlled a strip leading toward Rome by way of Perusia, although this cut the southern Lombards from those in the north. The territory about Rome and Naples, the southern ends of the peninsula, and the three islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica made up the western territories, while Greece and Asia Minor formed those on the south and east. The hold upon the more distant part of this Empire must always have been uncertain; but the central regions were steadily moulded into a practically homogeneous people, which, in its sympathies, its institutions, and its religious beliefs, was strongly Greek. The bond of union was not race but religion. In the Empire, still more than in the West, the Church exerted an irresistible unifying force. Although the emperors were regarded as the successors of Augustus and Constantine, the heirs of the Roman name, they were fast becoming simply Greek or Byzantine. They forgot how to speak Latin. Even before Justinian's century

closed they had ceased to publish their laws and ordinances in the old imperial tongue. To their titles were added Greek titles, like *despotes* and *basileus*. The divisions of the Empire were called themes instead of provinces.

62. New Invaders. — In Syria and Africa it was the Moslems who robbed the Empire of territory. About 673 they had directly attacked Constantinople. The siege lasted for several years, but the Arab fleet was finally beaten off, largely by the aid of swift fire-ships, which possibly used the deadly compound known as Greek fire. In Europe the Slavs had taken the place of the Germans as the northern foe. Before their earliest emigrations the Slavs lived along the Don, the Dnieper, and the Vistula, their settlements stretching no farther north than the fifty-fifth degree of north latitude. On the south they were cut off by other tribes from the shores of the Black Sea. They were called by the Germans Wends, or people of the prairie, and they named themselves Serbs. Later they took the name Slavs, the original meaning of which is even more uncertain than that of Serbs. It was not until the sixth century, after the Ostrogoths had left the Danube valley for the conquest of Italy, that great masses of Slavs moved southward, although many scattered groups had already settled within the Empire. There was a tradition that the emperor Justinian was descended from Slavic peasants. The lands from which they set out are now called Transylvania and Rumania. At first, as they had no strong national organization, they became tributary to the Empire, so that their presence did not change the line of the frontier. They penetrated farther and farther southward and westward until they reached the southern point of ancient Hellas, the slopes of the Alps, and the borders of southeastern Germany. In these new homes they remained, and many a modern Greek is descended, not from the people of Herodotus or Pericles, but from a race of barbarians of which the ancient Greeks never heard. The Servians, another group of Slavs, retained one of the race names. Still another came to be called Slovenian and dwelt


MAP NO. 5.
EUROPE
END OF 7th CENTURY
Roman Empire Indicated
Germans
Slavs
Invading Asiatics, Avars, Magyars, Bulgarians, Mohammedans
FRANKISH KINGDOM
WEST GOTHIC KINGDOM
LOMBARDS
Longitude East from Greenwich
BOWMAT & CO., N.Y.



in southern Hungary. Those who settled immediately south of the Danube were in the last part of the seventh century conquered by an Asiatic people called Bulgars or Bulgarians, and, although they soon absorbed their conquerors, they were by them formed into a strong state which threw off the yoke of the Greeks at Constantinople.

63. Westward Advance and Retreat. — The Slavs also moved directly westward from their early homes, and did not stop until they had advanced beyond the river Elbe. They expelled the Germans from Bohemia. There they were named Czechs, while farther east they were called Poles, Moravians, and Slovacs. At the end of the seventh century this movement stopped, for on its western edges it met the firm obstacle of German advance organized by the Frankish leaders. Slowly the Slavs were forced backward toward the Vistula. They also lost a part of the conquests in Bohemia. But the expanding vitality of the race was not exhausted; this simply took a new direction and marched northward into what came to be called Great Russia. Thus far the Slavs had remained heathen. It was not until the ninth and tenth centuries that they were converted to Christianity. Even then part of them accepted a Christianity which was no longer in sympathy with western Christendom.

SUMMARY

I. The West. — 1. The Franks: (*a*) quarrels over the heritage of Chlodwig, personal feuds; (*b*) rise to power of the mayors of the palace; (*c*) the victory of Pepin; (*d*) extent of Frankish rule. 2. England: (*a*) results of the manner of the conquest; (*b*) struggles for supremacy among the tribal kingdoms; (*c*) influence of the Church toward unification. 3. Italy: (*a*) failure of the Lombards to conquer the peninsula; (*b*) attitude of the popes in the struggle. 4. Results for civilization: (*a*) growing power of local nobles; (*b*) immunity from interference of royal officers; (*c*) the new nobles and their followers or vassals; (*d*) land granted as a benefice; (*e*) the people in the country grouped about the noble, the towns impoverished with the decrease of trade.

II. THE EAST. — 1. Size of the Empire. 2. It becomes Greek in customs, language, and spirit. 3. New attacks on its frontiers. 4. The Slavs: (*a*) period of their emigration; (*b*) given organization by the Bulgars; (*c*) their movement westward to the Elbe; (*d*) the different peoples of Slavic origin.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: Histories of separate countries mentioned in Ch. 1.

PARAGRAPHS: —

52–53. Wars Among the Franks: Kitchin, I., 81–98; Emerton, 68–72.

55. Growth of the English Nation: Church, 132–177; Green, *Short History*, 14–44.

56. The Lombards and the Papacy: Bury, II., 439–449; Oman, *Dark Ages*, Ch. 16.

57–60. Compare paragraphs 7–13, in order to note changes in government and society since the later Roman Empire.

61. Byzantine Empire, character: Bury, II., 167–174; Oman, *Byzantine Empire*, Ch. 11.

62, 63. The Slavs: Freeman, *Historical Geography of Europe*, Bury ed. (see Index); Rambaud, Chs. 2, 3; Kovalevsky, Ch. 1.

Additional Reading: Rambaud, *History of Russia*, 3 vols.; Kovalevsky, *Russian Political Institutions;* Morfill, *Russia* and *Poland.*

For Review, Chs. 1–4: 395–732, the fall of the Roman Empire and the transformation of Europe.

Changes: 1. In the geography of Europe: (*a*) boundaries of the Empire in 395 and at the end of the seventh century; (*b*) boundaries of Christendom at these dates; (*c*) kingdoms which had supplanted the Empire, particularly in the west and north; (*d*) territory lost to the Empire by 732; (*e*) lands under Slavic rule. 2. In population: (*a*) German element within the Empire before the invasions began; (*b*) German tribes which had found permanent homes within the boundaries of the old Empire; (*c*) German tribes, conquerors at first, afterward exterminated; (*d*) the Slavs within the Empire and the independent Slavs, their contact with the Germans; (*e*) the Saracen invasion as an emigration or as the conversion of conquered tribes to Mohammedanism. 3. In government: contrast between old imperial government, its officers, its system of taxes, its vast expenditures, and the new monarchies

of the West with nobles becoming independent and collecting the taxes for themselves. 4. In society: (*a*) the noble, with his villa, his slaves and his tenant farmers, his increasing power; (*b*) the ordinary freeman in town and country; (*c*) the land question, effect of the invasions on the great estates, growth of the custom of granting land as benefices. 5. In religion: (*a*) Christianity, the state religion; (*b*) organization of the Church in the East and the West; (*c*) growth of the papacy; (*d*) monasticism; (*e*) missionary work; (*f*) Mohammedanism, its origin, teachings, and conquests.

CHAPTER V.

THE AGE OF CHARLEMAGNE

64. What Three Great Franks accomplished, 714–814. — During the century which followed the defeat of the Moslems at Tours all petty tribal conflicts, even the movements of emigrant peoples, were pressed into the background by several events which influenced still more deeply the succeeding history of Europe. It was this century that saw the Greeks lose their hold on central Italy and the popes take their place as rulers. The dream of a united Lombard kingdom of Italy was finally dispelled and instead there was a crude revival of the Roman Empire with a Frankish king as emperor. These events were brought about largely by three remarkable Franks, — Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charles the Great, who had supplanted the Merovingian kings and had made a close alliance with the Church. The opportunity which the times offered them was unique, but only such men were equal to the emergency. Had their strong arms not held in subjection their nobles and all the ambitious chieftains of dependent tribes, the dark disorder of later days would have hastened on. When they were gone not even their example nor the magic of the new imperial name could keep anarchy from overshadowing all Europe and the true dark ages from beginning.

65. Pepin becomes King, 751. — Charles Martel was the son of that mayor of the palace who at Testry had gained control over both parts of the Frankish monarchy. Like his father he had fought his way to power. He not only forced the nobles to obey, but also forced border peoples like the Bavarians and the Saxons to recognize his supremacy. When the



country through which the Garonne flows, and which was called Aquitaine, tried to break away and establish its independence, he subdued the revolt. Although in order to gain adherents he did not hesitate to grant to them as benefices the use of Church lands, he supported heartily the work of Boniface as the organizer of churches in Germany and as the reformer of the Frankish Church. The valuable help that he gave caused the pope to think he might be used to beat off the Lombards, who were just then more seriously threatening what was left of the Empire in Italy. Meantime, though Charles was really sovereign and though for several years before his death there was no king, he did not take the crown. His son Pepin also waited ten years more before he ventured to supplant the phantom Merovingian monarchs. Finally, he sent an embassy to the pope to ask whether they should be kings who bore the name but did not have royal authority. The pope wisely replied that it was better that he who had the power should also have the name of king. The Frankish chiefs assented in their assembly and so the last Merovingian was shorn of his royal locks and shut up in a monastery, while Pepin was crowned, probably by the great bishop Boniface. A little over two years afterward the pope himself crossed the Alps, solemnly anointed Pepin king, and obtained from him the promise to march into Italy to deliver the imperial cities, which, with the exception of Rome, had fallen into the hands of the Lombards. This consecration of the monarch by the Church gave the crown a new sanctity. Henceforward the Frankish kings were the "Lord's anointed," upon whom it was sacrilege as well as treason to lay violent hands.

66. Enmity between Empire and Papacy. — If Rome was not to surrender to the Lombards, help must be gained from some one besides the emperor. He had made no successful effort to save the other cities. The pope had another reason to find fault with him. This was the dispute about the use in the Church of pictures and images of Christ and the saints. The ancient Greeks had not been content with a simple wor-

ship of those spirits of mountain or river or the ancestral hearth in whom they trusted; they sought to portray their ideas of the gods in painting and sculpture. This artistic impulse, which had produced forms of such beauty and strength, naturally led them to paint pictures or carve images of the saints who had replaced the gods and heroes. The common people of the day supposed that such images possessed marvellous powers. After the rise of Mohammedanism the eastern Christians were often embarrassed to explain the difference between their religion and idolatry. A few of the bishops desired to restore worship to its earlier and simpler forms. A successful soldier, Leo the Isaurian, who, in 717, before he had been on the throne six months, had saved Constantinople from a new attack of the Arabs, eagerly took up the cause of reform and even attempted to reduce the power of the monks, zealous advocates of the use of images. By his enemies he was called the Iconoclast or image-breaker. His policy was continued by his immediate successors. So persistent were these emperors that they lost the sympathy of both Greek and Italian peoples, who were angry at the dishonor done their patron saints. In Italy the papacy led the opposition.

67. States of the Church. —Pepin did not find it easy to keep his promise, for his lords were loath to make war upon the Lombards. He was obliged to lead two expeditions into Italy, the second in 756, before Aistulf, the Lombard king, would finally surrender his conquests. These Pepin did not restore to the emperor. He took the keys of the cities and laid them upon the tomb of St. Peter. At the same time he drew up a document, called a donation, giving the pope possession of these cities. Both king and pope felt instinctively that in days when power rested upon control of vast estates and strong cities the papacy could not maintain or extend its influence unless it was lord of visible domains. This was the beginning of the States of the Church, which remained a separate territory until the unification of Italy under Victor Emmanuel in 1870.

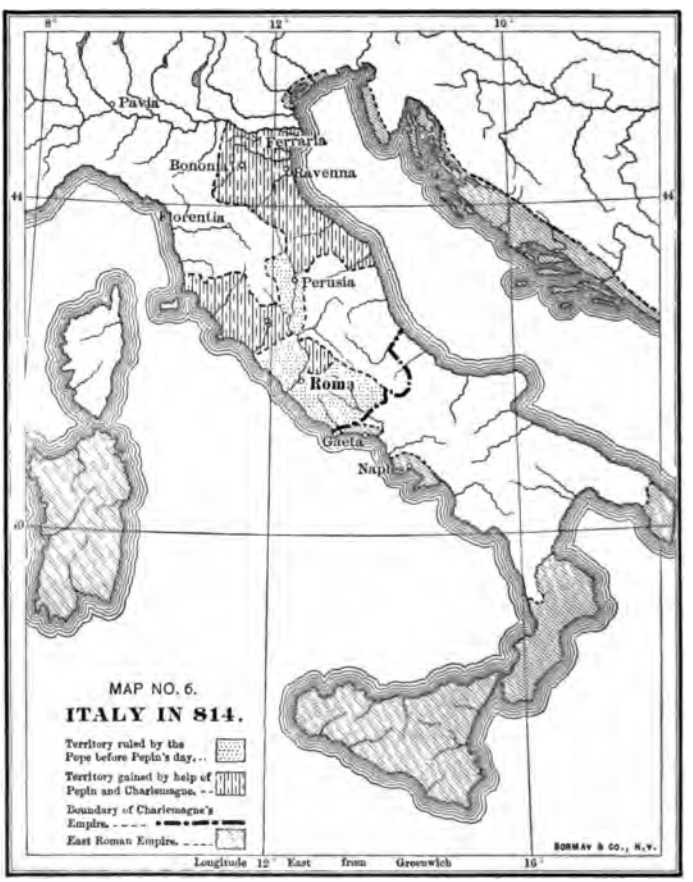


68. Pepin's Greatness. — Next to his campaigns against the Lombards the most important achievement of Pepin was the conquest of Aquitaine. The people, chiefly the old Gallo-Roman stock, were restless under Frankish rule and readily listened to their duke, who urged them to fight for independence. Pepin resolved to subdue them thoroughly. In a campaign, resumed year after year from 760 to 768, he broke the power of resistance. As his army advanced he built fortresses and placed the government of counties under Franks or trustworthy Aquitanians. So well was this work done that it taught his great son Charles how to subdue the Saxons and how to organize the Bavarians. Indeed, had this son not been so great, Pepin would have been counted oftener among the most famous princes of Europe.

69. Charlemagne in Italy. — Charles is commonly called Charlemagne, which is the French form of Carolus Magnus, or Charles the Great. From the beginning of his reign in 768 until his death, forty-six years later, he was ceaselessly occupied, not only with the administration of the kingdom, but with the extension of its frontiers. He was early called into Italy to compel the new Lombard king, Desiderius, to surrender the cities which he had seized in spite of Pepin's donation. Desiderius did not attempt to resist him in the field, but shut himself up in Pavia. While the siege was being pushed forward Charles made a journey to Rome. The pope would have been better pleased had he recrossed the Alps after forcing the Lombards to give up the cities. Charles had other intentions. He renewed the donation of Pepin and returned to capture Pavia. King Desiderius, many of whose nobles had been won over by Charles, was forced in 774 to surrender and to pass the remainder of his days in a monastery. Charles was crowned king of the Lombards. He had also been given the title "patrician of Rome" by the pope, but this was a vague honor which Pepin had also received.

70. Conquest of the Saxons, 772–803. — Even before he descended into Italy, Charles had begun his efforts to subdue

and christianize the fierce Saxons, who had been attacked also by Charles Martel and Pepin. The lands of the Saxons commenced a few leagues beyond the right bank of the Rhine and



stretched northward to the borders of what is now Denmark. Their southern boundary could be roughly traced by a line running from Cologne toward Leipsic until it touched the



river Saale, which with the Elbe formed the lower eastern boundary. Again and again Charles invaded the Saxon country only to find that after he was gone revolt burst out. The Saxons were not united in a kingdom nor were they organized well for defence, but they were fighting for their religion as well as for their independence. The only chieftain who appears to have exercised great influence over them was Widukind. Until he surrendered and was baptized no measures, however savage, subdued the spirit of resistance. At one time Charles, exasperated by a new revolt and unable to seize Widukind himself, ordered forty-five hundred of his followers to be beheaded. This massacre of Verden was followed by a decree which threatened with death any one who kept up the old religious rites or refused baptism or did not observe the fasts proclaimed by the Church. Companies of missionary priests and monks went about with the army. As one part of Saxony after another was forced to submit, counts were appointed to administer the districts, and bishoprics were founded. Many of the bishoprics, like Münster, Bremen, Hildesheim, and Halberstadt, founded either by Charlemagne or shortly after his death, were to become the centres of towns, so that all southern and western Germany was eventually covered with Church states which lasted until the days of Napoleon. Where Charles could not break the spirit of the Saxons he compelled them to emigrate to the land of the Franks. Tradition says that from a family of such emigrants sprang the Capetian kings who were to rule France for nearly a thousand years. Finally the conquest of Saxony was completed and the frontiers of the "Christian people" pushed as far north as Denmark and eastward to the Elbe.

71. Many Frontiers. — Duke Tassilo of Bavaria attempted, as had the duke of Aquitaine, to make himself independent, but, unlike Pepin, Charles had merely to make a display of force to compel his submission. The duke was deposed in 788, was shut up in a monastery, as was usual in such cases, and his domains were governed by counts. Still farther east,

Charles crushed the Avars, a people which were always threatening invasion and included the remnants of the earlier Huns. The Slavs beyond the Elbe were also forced to acknowledge his power, though he did not try to bring them directly under his rule. Quarrels between the Moslem chieftains in Spain aided, in 778, in conquering the region immediately south of the Pyrenees. There was already a little Christian kingdom, called Asturias, in the northwest, where the people had never been subdued by the Moslems. Out of this kingdom and of the new possessions of the Franks were to grow the kingdoms of Portugal, Castile, Navarre, and Aragon, which were to play an important part in the building up of Spain. Since on all the frontiers of the Frankish dominion there was constant danger of war, it was unsafe to leave these border lands or marches under ordinary counts, officers who at this time were frequently changed, and so the custom arose of uniting the whole of each border land under a count called the prefect of the frontier, who was left in command years at a time. In Germany such a man came to be called a markgraf or margrave, and in England a count of the march.

72. Charlemagne crowned Emperor. — The territory over which Charles ruled was now greater in extent than that under the government of the Greek emperors. His title was "king of the Franks, governing the Gauls, Germany, and Italy," but so great and so wisely used was his power that his peoples were not content with such a simple title. They began to call him "lord of the earth," "whom the Creator in his mercy has given to peoples as a defender and a father." It was natural to think that he was the true successor of the emperors who once brought peace and order to the western world. Learned men still believed in the Empire, for had not St. Jerome proved from the prophecy of Daniel that this Empire was the fourth monarchy, which could end only with the second coming of Christ? Such thoughts also came to the mind of Charles. He desired to have the vague privileges suggested by the title "patrician" more exactly defined. It happened that just

before the close of the century Irene, the mother of the young emperor, Constantine VI., put out her son's eyes, thrust him into a dungeon, and attempted to rule the Empire in his place. She was regarded as a usurper, and many in the West thought the Empire at Constantinople had come to an end. About the same time, Charles was obliged to go to Rome to protect Pope Leo III., who had been brutally treated by a Roman mob, and who had fled even into the Saxon country to find Charles. In November, 800, the cavalcade entered Rome. Some weeks were needed to settle the trouble between the pope and the Romans. Just what other questions were discussed we do not know. On Christmas Day Charles entered the church and knelt at the altar. Suddenly Leo placed a crown upon his head and the people cried out "To Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned of God, the great and peace-giving emperor, be life and victory." Apparently Charles was surprised by this act, for his friend and biographer, Einhard, afterward wrote that Charles "declared that he would not have set foot in the church, although it was a great feast day, if he could have foreseen the design of the pope." Many explanations have been given of the strange fact, because it is certain that Charles intended some day to take the title. Possibly he did not wish to be crowned by the pope in that way, lest the pope's successors should claim that they had a right to make and to unmake emperors. Einhard adds in his account that the "Roman emperors," that is the Greeks, took this coronation very ill. At first Charles thought of marrying Irene and of reigning with her over both Empires. After she was overthrown and driven into exile, he undertook to make a treaty with the Greek emperor, that his title might be recognized. The affair dragged on several years, but finally the Greek envoys hailed him as *basileus*, though the treaty was not ratified until after his death.

73. The Laws. — Charles was a lawgiver as well as a conqueror. Although he was too powerful for men to resist his will openly, he did nothing save through the advice of his

nobles and by the consent of the great Frankish assemblies named the "Fields of May." These laws were called capitularies. Some of them were simple orders to his officers, others were directions for the management of his vast estates, and still others additions to the ordinary laws. He did not attempt, like Justinian and, in modern times, Bonaparte, to work over all the laws into a single code. In his reign every man continued to live under his own law, be it Roman or Salic or Burgundian. Many merely local customs were also growing into laws. The whole Frankish territory was divided into about three hundred counties, some large and others small. The duchies disappeared. In managing county affairs it was not easy to draw the line between the duties of count and of bishop, for an offence which disturbed the peace and therefore should be judged by the count might also be a sin which the bishop must punish. The quarrels of counts and bishops often troubled Charles. In order to hold both to a strict account, after 802 he regularly sent emissaries, or *missi*, all over the Empire. Two were generally sent together, a count and a bishop. They were commanded to see that the laws were obeyed, and that no one "prevailed against the churches of God, or the poor, or widows, or minors, or any Christian man." Some of them soon discovered that in certain counties justice was openly sold.

74. Lords and Vassals. — The efforts of Charles to make his rule just and fair to all were less successful because of the heavy burdens that the constant wars laid upon the freemen. Nowadays such burdens would come in the form of increased taxation, but the Roman system of taxation had almost disappeared. As Charles could not raise money or borrow it in order to hire men and equip them, it had become the duty of each individual who was rich enough to arm and send a soldier at his own expense. Poorer freemen must combine either to arm one of their own number or to send some one else. Often a rich landowner would threaten to have a poorer neighbor sent off to the army unless he would give up his little farm,

holding it henceforth as a benefice. Since the number of freemen was not large enough to furnish the needed recruits, Charles was obliged to demand that those who held benefices of a certain size should furnish a man or go themselves. He also commanded that these men go to the rendezvous with either the count or their "senior." This was the first clear recognition in the law of the relation between the man who held a benefice and him from whom it had been received. To prevent these "seniors" from standing between him and his subjects, Charles compelled every man to take a solemn oath of allegiance. The very words of the oath showed that the obligations of men to seniors or lords were already held sacred. These words were, "I promise to be faithful . . . as a man should be to his lord."

75. The Church. — The notion that the Church should be left to manage its own affairs would have seemed wrong to Charles. He dreamed of an Empire that should be Christian, and he thought it his duty to watch over the choice of bishops, to provide for a better educated clergy, and to see that no heresies nor pagan superstitions crept into the Church. He ordered a more accurate copy of Jerome's translation of the Bible to be made because the copies in use had been carelessly prepared. Alcuin, one of the scholars at his court, procured in the convents of southern Italy several Bibles copied in the days of Theodoric. With the aid of these an accurate text of the Latin Bible was completed and became the only version used in the West.

76. The Revival of Learning. — Alcuin was an Anglo-Saxon, trained in the school of York, which was still under the influence of a great scholar named Bede, who had died in 735. Charles had found him in Italy and had brought him to Aix-la-Chapelle in 782 to establish a school in the palace. Here youths were taught all the learning that had survived the ruin of the Roman Empire. In such efforts Charles was aided by several energetic bishops, who founded free schools for the children living within their dioceses. For a time it

seemed as if there was to be an intellectual renaissance, or revival of learning, and that the new Frankish civilization would produce poets and historians as did the elder Empire. Several biographies were written, and histories were begun, generally in the form of annals or brief statements of each year's events. But such a revival could not last long, for only the strong arms of the three great Franks kept western Europe from again falling into disorder. Moreover, Latin had ceased to be the language of the common people. Its place in the region of modern France was taken by the "Roman language," something halfway between Latin and French. In Italy and Spain the beginnings of Spanish and of Italian were similarly wrought out in daily speech. Along the Rhine it was German that was taking shape.

77. Charlemagne. — When a man has shown himself great we are eager to know how he looked, how he lived, and what distinguished him from other men. Tradition pictures Charles with a massive head, a long flowing beard, and clad in garments heavy with jewels; but Einhard gives a very different description. Charles was tall and broad, a little inclined to stoutness, with a rather short neck. His eyes were large and sparkling, his "nose a little long, hair fair, and face laughing and merry." He wore the ordinary Frankish dress, "despised foreign costumes, however handsome, and never allowed himself to be robed in them except twice in Rome, when he donned the Roman tunic, chlamys, and shoes." Like all noble Franks he enjoyed hunting, but he delighted especially in swimming. Einhard says that he built his principal palace at Aix-la-Chapelle because of its baths. Although in his drinking he was temperate, detesting drunkenness, he was a hearty eater, so fond of roast venison that he disliked his physicians because they urged him to eat boiled meat instead. While at table he listened to reading or music. The book he liked most to hear was Augustine's *City of God*. He studied astronomy with great interest, and he understood Greek; but he never learned to write, although he "used to keep tablets

and blanks in bed under his pillow that at leisure hours he might accustom his hand to form the letters." He loved his children, keeping them always about him, and directing their



AIX-LA-CHAPELLE (Aachen).

Cathedral, of which the round church at the left was built by Charlemagne as a palace chapel. In the fourteenth century a Gothic choir was added to transform the whole into a cathedral.

education, but he did not in all things set them a good example.

78. His Successors. — Charlemagne was succeeded in 814 by his son Louis, named the Pious because of his humility and religious zeal, and the Debonnair, or easy-going, because he was mild and easily influenced. Unfortunately those days required a stout heart and a strong arm rather than a sweet

disposition and a pure character. Troubles arose as soon as Louis began to carry out the old ruinous policy of dividing the territory among his sons. Charles had been saved from the consequences of a similar mistake by the death of all his sons save Louis. The sons of Louis again and again rose against him. They even thrust him into a monastery, and when he was dead quarrelled among themselves over a division of the Empire. A great battle was fought at Fontenet, south of Auxerre, but this was not decisive. Finally at Verdun, in 843, peace was made. According to the terms a long strip of country from Beneventum in Italy to the North Sea was given to Lothair, the eldest, with the title of "emperor." Beyond the Alps this strip was roughly outlined by the Rhine on the east and the Rhone, Saône, Meuse, and Scheldt on the west. To Louis, or Ludwig, the second son, was given the territory east of this strip, and to Charles, the youngest son, all that lay to the west. The Emperor Lothair had no effective control over his brothers, so that the three parts of the "kingdom of the Franks," eastern, middle, and western Francia, became three separate kingdoms. In the course of the war Charles and Louis had recognized that the inhabitants of eastern and western Francia were really distinct peoples. When they became allies against Lothair, and swore to support one another, Charles took the oath before the army of Louis in the *lingua teudisca*, or Tudesque, and Louis before the army of Charles in the "Roman" tongue. These oaths are the earliest monuments of French and German. There is a double reason, therefore, for taking the Treaty of Verdun as the historical beginning of France and Germany.

MAP NO. 7.


EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE IN 814
WITH THE THREE SUBDIVISIONS MADE IN 843
Kingdom of Charles...
Kingdom of Lothair...
Kingdom of Ludwig...
Compare the Northeastern frontier with the frontier of the Roman Empire, —— to see the advance of the new civilization Northeastward. Compare Charlemagne's Northeastern frontier with the boundary of the present German Empire, —— to see how far the Slavs have been pressed back since 814.
R. Danube
Bohemia
Moravia
Carinthia
Croatia
Dalmatia
Servia
Corsica
Sardinia
Barcelona
Longitude East from Greenwich
K. ASTURIAS & GALICIA
EMIRAT OF CORDOVA
KINGDOM OF ITALY
KINGDOM OF LOTHAIR
KINGDOM OF LUDWIG
KINGDOM OF CHARLES
NORTHUMBERLAND
MERCIA
WESSEX
BRITTANY
ANCIENT FRANCIA
MIDDLE FRANCIA
NEUSTRIA
AQUITAIN
SPANISH MARCH

SUMMARY

I. CHARLES MARTEL. — 1. Position as mayor of the palace. 2. Conquests: (*a*) Saracens [Ch. 3]; (*b*) Bavarians, Saxons, Aquitanians; (*c*) aids Boniface [Ch. 3].

II. PEPIN. — 1. Becomes king. 2. In Italy: (*a*) cause of enmity between Empire and popes; (*b*) Pepin's expeditions against the Lombards; (*c*) his "donation." 3. Conquest and organization of Aquitaine.

III. CHARLEMAGNE. — 1. In Italy: (*a*) renews donation to papacy; (*b*) becomes king of Lombards. 2. Conquers Saxons: (*a*) location of Saxons; (*b*) why they resisted so stubbornly; (*c*) missionary priests and monks as organizers of conquered territory. 3. Other conquests: Bavarian Tassilo, the Avars, the Slavs, in Spain. 4. Emperor: (*a*) attitude of people toward Charles; (*b*) expedition to Rome; (*c*) circumstances of coronation; (*d*) attitude of the Greeks toward new emperor. 5. Lawgiver: (*a*) Frankish assemblies; (*b*) kinds of law; (*c*) enforcement of law, especially through *missi*; (*d*) effect of constant wars on condition of freemen; (*e*) recognition of relation of lord and vassal; (*f*) efforts to improve clergy. 6. Revival of learning: (*a*) Alcuin, the Bible and the palace school; (*b*) the writings of the day; (*c*) changes in language. 7. Appearance and habits of Charles.

IV. THE CAROLINGIANS. — 1. Louis, his character and his misfortunes. 2. The sons of Louis: (*a*) their wars; (*b*) treaty of Verdun and its meaning.

FOR COMPARISON. — 1. The boundaries of the empire of Charles and the boundaries of the Roman Empire in 395. 2. Size of the empire of Charles and size of Byzantine Empire about 700. 3. Difficulties of government confronting Charles compared with those of the later Roman Empire.

IMPORTANT DATES

717. Accession of Leo the Isaurian at Constantinople; the image controversy.
732. Defeat of the Saracens at Tours by Charles Martel.
751. Pepin becomes king.
768. Accession of Charles.
774. Charles becomes king of the Lombards.
800. Charles crowned Emperor at Rome.
814. Death of Charles.
843. Treaty of Verdun.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: Eginhard (Einhard), *Life of Charlemagne;* modern biographies by Mombert, Davis, Hodgkin; Adams, *Civilization*, Ch. 7; Bryce, Chs. 4 and 5; Emerton, *Mediæval Europe*, 3–31; Kitchin, I., 118–162; Henderson, I., Ch. 2.

PARAGRAPHS:

65. Pepin: Robinson, Nos. 49–52.

66. Iconoclasm: Thatcher-McNeal, Nos. 41, 42; Bury, II., 428–438, 460–469, 494–498; Alzog, II., 206–218; briefer treatments in Oman's *Byzantine Empire*, Ch. 15.

67, 69. States of the Church: compare **38–39**; Thatcher-McNeal, Nos. 43–48; Emerton, *Introduction*, 168–172, 186–189; Alzog, II., 141–147; see map 6.

70. Saxon War: Einhard, sections 7, 8; Robinson, Nos. 54–55. Compare **45** on work of Boniface: for duration of bishoprics, see paragraph **374**.

72. Charlemagne, Emperor: Thatcher-McNeal, Nos. 8, 13; especially Bryce, Ch. 5; Robinson, No. 56. Compare **26** on meaning of "Fall of Rome," in 476.

73. The Laws: extracts in Robinson, No. 62; longer selections in *Tr. and Rp.*, Vol. VI., No. 5. In *Tr. and Rp.*, Vol. III., No. 2, p. 2–5, is the capitulary "*de villis*," with an inventory of an estate. The capitulary of 802 is also in Henderson, *Documents*, 189–201.

74. Government and Lords: Compare **57–60**, also condition in later Roman Empire, **7–13**; see selections in Robinson, Nos. 58–60.

75. The Church: Emerton, *Introduction*, 222–227; Alzog, II., 218–222.

76. Revival of Learning: Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* is an example of work in biography; Charlemagne's attitude appears from his own words in *Tr. and Rp.*, Vol. VI., No. 5, p. 12–16, and in Robinson, Nos. 63–64. See further, West, *Alcuin*, or Mombert or Hodgkin.

77. Description of Charlemagne in Einhard, sections 21–27, more briefly in Robinson, No. 53.

78. Strasburg Oaths, in Emerton, *Mediæval Europe*, p. 27; Thatcher-McNeal, No. 16. Significance of the division of 843, Emerton, 28–30.

Additional Reading: Guizot, *History of France*, 8 vols.

CHAPTER VI.

BEGINNINGS OF FEUDAL EUROPE

79. Origin of Feudal Society. — Within the century which followed the Treaty of Verdun (843) the central government, particularly in western Francia, lost its hold upon its subjects. They began to be controlled by force or through the gift of lands and privileges the acceptance of which bound them to the giver. The beginnings of this change reach back to the later Roman Empire, but it was hurried to completion in the struggles caused by the collapse of Charlemagne's empire and by the Norse and Hungarian invasions. Confusion and ruin were everywhere. It is true that territories like eastern and western Francia held together, mainly because of geographical position. Others, like the portion of Lothair, were tossed about, divided, and subdivided. No wonder that any man strong enough to protect or to menace his terrified neighbors was transformed into their actual ruler, either because they could not help themselves, or because they cared more for safety than for the form of government.

80. Fate of Lotharingia. — Of the three kingdoms marked out at Verdun, middle Francia, or Lotharingia, as it was named after its ruler, fell to pieces in about a generation. In the valleys of the Saône and the Rhone was gradually formed a new Burgundy, which included all the older Burgundian kingdom except the northwestern part. This was to become the French duchy of Burgundy. The southern half was first a kingdom by itself called Provence because it included the old Roman *Provincia*. It was natural that this region should fall away from the more western Francia. It was separated not merely

MAP NO. 6.



LOTHARINGIA
NORTH OF THE ALPS
ACCORDING TO THE DIVISION OF 843

Lotharingia is indicated by dark lines; Lorraine, the two Burgundies, Savoy, Dauphiné and Provence are indicated with their boundaries at the time of annexation to France. - - - - - -

The Kingdom of Provence is indicated by a heavy broken line, bounded on the north by a dotted line. The Kingdom of Burgundy, (933-1032) including the Kingdom of Provence, is indicated by a broken line. — — — — —

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by mountains but also by its civilization, which under the mild sway of the early Burgundian kings had retained more of the Roman laws and customs. After less than two centuries the new Burgundian kingdom was merged into the restored Roman, or German-Roman, Empire. It was its final destiny to be slowly recovered for France under the names of Dauphiné, Provence, Franche-Comté, and Savoy, a process not completed until 1860. The northern part of Lotharingia was also at first united to east Francia. There was one region which remained a bone of contention. This was called Lorraine, a name which is a shortened form of Lotharingia, of which it was a part. Once during the period it became a little kingdom, but it soon was united to east Francia. Its later history is a part of the story of the wars between France and Germany down to 1871. When such a fate overtook the parts of Lotharingia north of the Alps, it was inevitable that Italy also would be separated from the rest of Charlemagne's empire. Two or three times east or west Frankish descendants of Charles were crowned emperors, but they gained little control of affairs. Italian nobles also contended for the throne. There was no hope for a restoration of order until the German Otto came down in 962 and restored the Empire.

81. East Francia. — East Francia, or Germany, was the most fortunate of the three kingdoms. When there were no more Carolingians, that is, descendants of Charles, to claim the throne, the families of the local nobles brought forward able men, under whose leadership the German kingdom might fairly boast of being the successor of the Frankish empire. Although Charles had placed Saxony and Bavaria under counts, these peoples and the other Germans as well — the Swabians, the Franconians, and the Thuringians — were not absorbed into one great whole. As soon as the strong hand of the master was withdrawn some noble, a count or a margrave, rose to the position of duke. In this way were formed the duchies, — Saxony, Swabia, Franconia, and Bavaria. The first of the new kings of east Francia was a Franconian, who vainly

sought to break down the power of the other dukes. His successor was his rival, the duke of Saxony. Henry the Fowler, as this king was named, because he was hunting with a falcon when in 919 his election was announced to him, changed the policy and sought to conciliate the other dukes. The kingship was not hereditary, but Henry persuaded the dukes to accept his son Otto as his successor. Otto became king in 936. The early years of his reign were spent in trying to overcome the ducal rivals and bring their peoples more directly under his rule. He was at first apparently successful. In the end the local nobles were to triumph so completely that the task of creating a united Germany remained unaccomplished for centuries. The principal reason for this failure was the waste of German strength in trying to realize the dream of a renewed Roman Empire, where pope and emperor would unite to bring peace and right doing once more into a disordered world. This task Otto undertook when he was crowned emperor at Rome.



A SHIP OF THE NORTHMEN, OR VIKINGS.

Found in 1880 near Gokstad, Norway, buried on the seashore. Its dimensions: 78 feet long, 16 feet wide, and 4 feet deep amidships. No deck, one mast, pierced for 16 oars on each side. Owner, a ninth century warrior named Anlaif.

82. West Francia. — The hardest fate was reserved for west Francia, or France, partly because of disputes over the kingship or contests between the kings and their great nobles, but mostly because the Northmen in expedition after expedition spread desolation everywhere. Some of the kings would have been capable in other days of reigning worthily, but all the resources which able kings find at hand were gone. The system of taxation which would have furnished money for an army had disappeared; the royal officers could venture to make themselves practically

independent in their counties; the treasure of lands and of privileges with which to attract followers was speedily exhausted, so that the last descendants of Charles had scarcely a city that they could call their own. Even before their family was set aside, lords of another house had twice occupied the throne. This new house was founded by Count Robert, rightly called the Strong, because he was the hero of the fight against the Northmen and the Bretons during the reign of Charles, the favorite son of Louis the Pious. Robert's reward was a duchy, including the land between the Seine and the Loire. One of Robert's sons was king for ten years and another for a few months, but the time had not come when the family of Charles could be pushed aside permanently, so that Robert's grandson, Hugh the Great, was content to be a maker of kings and the real ruler of France. His son, Hugh Capet, played the same part for thirty years, but in 987 there happened what had happened once before — he who held the power also received the name of king. Thus the Capetian family mounted the throne upon which they were to reign until the Revolution of 1789. The French have always looked back on Charles and his family as French kings, so that before Hugh was made king there had been three named Charles and five Louis. Several fared hard at the hands of the nicknamers, for Charles II. is known as the "Bald" and Charles III. as the "Simple." One Louis is called the "Stammerer" and another, "Outre-mer," or Over-sea, because he was brought over from England to take the crown.

83. England. — England suffered as sorely as did France from the Northmen, but otherwise there was less strife than on the Continent, for the descendants of Egbert of Wessex were able and warlike kings. The greatest of them, Alfred, who came to the throne in 871, when the Northmen seemed triumphant, is one of the noblest figures in the history of England or of any nation. After he had forced the Danes to make peace and to accept the Christian faith, he tried to improve the condition of his own people. He brought scholars to his



court from Wales and from Germany. In order to enrich the English tongue, which was the language of the common people, he translated into it several important Latin books which explained the ideas of the Romans and the earlier history of the world. He also encouraged the monks to put together what was known about the English in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the first historical work of any modern people in their own tongue.

84. Danes in England. — The Northmen who first devastated and then occupied parts of England and France in the ninth and tenth centuries came from what are now Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. During the same period Northmen also penetrated into Russia and founded a kingdom; others emigrated to Iceland and formed settlements in Greenland. A little later they crossed the Atlantic and reached the shores of America. Some were also to found a principality in southern Italy. But they accomplished most in France and England. It was chiefly bands from the peninsula of Denmark that came to these lands. The English called them Danes and the French, Northmen. Their own country was too small and poor to offer all its restless warriors either food or adventures, and so they pushed out into the sea in their long boats and sailed for the rich shores far to the south. Their coming was often so sudden that the inhabitants were helpless. Monasteries and churches were destroyed, towns were sacked or put to ransom. Emboldened by their successes, they came in larger numbers and ventured to attack the armies of the English or Frankish kings. They compelled the vassal kings to pay tribute and pressed hard upon Wessex itself. Alfred had not been long on the throne when he was driven to take refuge in the fens of Somerset. In 878 he gathered his war bands again, fell upon the Danes, and forced King Guthrum and his followers to be baptized as Christians and to make peace at Wedmore. By the terms of the treaty, the Danes were to control the country east of a line running from London northwest to the Welsh border. Eight years later Alfred forced them to cede London and the surrounding district. Although

the kings of Wessex had for a time lost the overlordship of England, they actually gained strength, because they were obliged to give a better organization to the territories they still held. The Danish kingdom soon crumbled. As the Danes were of the same race as the English, they were gradually absorbed by the English population. This facilitated the reconquest of northeastern England by the successors of Alfred, — a task completed about fifty years after his death.

85. Danes become Normans in France. — The peace of Wedmore led those Danes who did not wish to settle quietly in England to seek other lands to plunder. The storm broke anew upon west Francia. Paris had often seen the Northmen, who rowed their ships up the winding Seine to the very walls. In 885 their fleet stretched for six miles below the city. For over a year they vainly attempted to capture the fortified bridges that connected the "City" with the north and south suburbs, or faubourgs. Finally they were persuaded to withdraw by offering them the chance to plunder Burgundy, and by the gift of a large sum of money. The hold of the Northmen upon the lower Seine was fast becoming unshakable. In 911 Charles the Simple did hardly more than acknowledge this fact when he granted the whole region to Hrolf as duke. Like Guthrum before Wedmore, Hrolf pledged himself, with his followers, to become Christians. He was baptized with great solemnity at Rouen, which became his capital. He was now as eager to rebuild monasteries and villages as he had previously been to destroy them. It was said that property was so safe that a gold ring hung upon the branch of a tree for three years and yet no one dared to cast a covetous eye upon it. The Northmen or Normans soon forgot their own tongue and became the most active leaders of French civilization. Such a peace should be remembered as evidence of the good sense of Charles, in the same way that the peace of Wedmore is credited to the statesmanship of Alfred.

86. Hungarians. — The Hungarians, or Magyars, were a race akin to the Finns, the Avars, and the Huns. They came into



western Europe by the road that the Huns had followed, and like them were bold horsemen and fierce plunderers. Western as well as eastern Francia was devastated by their invading hordes. Just before Charles made his treaty with Hrolf they raided Bavaria, and destroyed the Bavarian army, killing its duke. Their first serious repulse came from Henry the Fowler on the Unstrut in 933, over twenty years later. Another twenty years passed and Otto defeated them in Bavaria. By this time they had occupied the plains about the Theiss and the Danube, where they built up a kingdom, adopted Christianity, and long afterward were the bulwark of Europe against the Turkish invader.

87. Consequences. — It was such dangers and disorders that gave the nobles, great or small, chance after chance to seize for themselves powers that properly belonged to the government. All they had to do was to render more general the division, already common, of freemen into lords and vassals, and by virtue of grants of immunity to keep the officers of the central government out of their domains. Both these steps had been taken before Charlemagne's family ceased to rule. In 847, four years after the Treaty of Verdun, a capitulary or decree was issued at Mersen by his grandson Charles that "each free man may choose a lord, from us or our faithful, such a one as he wishes." About a century later a similar law was decreed in England. Only in this way could kings preserve any control over men in a society which was rapidly breaking into small local groups.

88. Immunity. — At the same time kings were lavishly giving grants of immunity to counts, abbots, bishops, and even to influential men who held less important positions or merely great estates. The ordinary formula declared that the recipient should hold his estate, with all the men upon it, "in entire immunity, and without the entrance of any one of the judges for the purpose of holding the pleas of any kind of causes." Great lords granted to their vassals similar freedom from their own or any other person's control. This practice in effect

divided the state into small fragments in which the subjects were not under direct obligations to the king.

89. Land. — If society was to hold together, some bond was needed more solid than oaths and more permanent than fear. In the earlier period rich noblemen had become patrons of ambitious youths or of persons who hoped much from their protection. The gain to the lords had been a few more pieces of land or a more imposing array of dependents. The situation had changed. It was oftener the nobleman who sought vassals than the freeman who sought a lord, for the noble could not save himself or his domains amid the wreck of society unless he had followers bound to bring him aid. As land was about the only stable property left, and as power and privileges generally went with it, the acceptance of a domain at least large enough to support a horseman would create an obligation strong enough to unite permanently vassal and lord. These gifts of land or benefices had at first been made without expectation that they would be returned. Afterward they were changed into grants for a lifetime or for a definite period. They had come to be called fiefs, a term derived, curiously enough, from a Frankish word which meant cattle. Kings, nobles, and monasteries had begun to give such benefices to those who already were, or who wished to be, their vassals. In this way the duties of vassalage were attached to pieces of land. The combination persisted, and after a time these duties were not arranged by a special bargain, but were determined by the nature of the fief which the vassal received. With different fiefs went different duties. The same man might have a dozen titles, and might stand in a variety of different relations to as many lords. Even a king might for a certain fief be vassal of one of his own vassals.

90. Offices. — Counts and dukes had received for their work as officials the use of certain estates. These gradually came to be looked upon as benefices, and, by a natural confusion of thought, the office itself, which had been the cause of the grant was considered the consequence, that is, a part of the

fief. Public office ceased to be a means through which the State could guard the subject, assure him justice, and furnish him with some things which he could not procure so well for himself. It was transformed into a piece of property managed primarily for the benefit of the holder. Even abbeys and bishoprics were considered fiefs, because upon their election to such positions the clergy received many privileges which originally belonged to the government. In the end not only land but everything the State ordinarily does for the citizen, and many other things, were turned into fiefs. Some declared that the king held his crown as a fief from God, which he must forfeit if he did not rule justly. There also took place a subdivision of fiefs, commonly called subinfeudation, so that in a county the citadel of a town might belong to one lord, several quarters to another, while the bishop might rule a quarter, and still other lords have the country-side.

91. Fiefs Hereditary. — When the notion grew strong that all these governmental rights and the benefices to which they were attached were property, the lords of high or low degree endeavored to hand them down to their children. It was again Charles, the grandson of Charlemagne, who, by the Edict of Kiersy in 877, practically agreed that if a count died his county should go to his son. In doing this he did not start a new custom, but simply recognized as legal what ordinarily took place.

92. Duties of Vassals. — The duties of all vassals, from the duke of half a kingdom to the baron of a village, were similar, though they necessarily varied in number. When the vassal was invested with his fief he knelt, unarmed and bareheaded, before his lord, placed his hands in his lord's hands, and declared himself to be "his man." After he had been raised to his feet and kissed, he took an oath of fidelity, and then received a twig or a clod of earth in token of the fief itself. He now was under obligation to follow his lord upon his expeditions, or fight for him in his petty wars, or guard his castle, or if need be surrender his own castle for a time to his lord. If he had

succeeded to a fief, he was obliged to pay a "relief," which sometimes amounted to a whole year's revenue; and if he had bought the fief, he must pay three years' revenue. On three or four special occasions he paid an aid, — when the lord's eldest son was knighted, when his daughter was married, and for the ransom when the lord was made prisoner. He was to furnish his lord, and a certain number of followers, with food and lodging when they passed through his fief. He must also attend the lord's court several times a year to give him advice or assist him in the settlement of quarrels or in the punishment of crimes.

93. General Character of Feudal Government. — Such was the system of fiefs or the feudal system. So far as government was concerned it seemed like an attempt to organize a country on a sort of coöperative scheme, without collecting large sums of money in taxes to pay officials, judges, and soldiers. The army was brought together by a summons from the king to his vassals, who in turn summoned their vassals, and they their retainers, and all at the expense of those who came in fulfilment of their feudal duties. Justice was not administered in tribunals maintained at great expense by the government, but in the rude courts of the lords, and in order that they might increase their income from the fees. The lords also controlled many of the roads and bridges, and levied tolls on passing merchants, often without expending any money to keep the highways in repair.

94. The People. — Lords and vassals made up only a small portion of the population. They were the aristocracy of the day, supported by the unpaid labor, or the dues in money or produce, of the villains or serfs, who were the descendants of the freemen, the *coloni*, and the slaves of the later Roman Empire. The most of the villains or serfs were farmers or farm laborers, some were artisans, a few were merchants. In the cities there were a few freemen, tradesmen, or mechanics, but their day of influence had not come. It became more and more difficult to cross the broad line that separated the lower



classes, chiefly composed of serfs, from the nobles, great or small, who drew from them the means of livelihood. Almost the only method was through the Church, where even a peasant's son might some day rise to be a powerful abbot, an archbishop, or pope. In the end, those above the line were to develop into the later aristocracies of Europe, while those below were to become the great laboring, manufacturing, and mercantile population, out of which were to grow the democracies of the nineteenth century.

95. The Serfs. — Although there were still many freemen, the majority of the people were serfs, who could not leave their estate, nor marry outside it without their lord's consent, nor leave their land to any one save their children. They were also obliged to pay a special tax. Their condition was better than that of the ancient slaves, for they could not be sold separate from the land, nor could their land be taken from them. If the fief was sold, they belonged to another lord, but this change did not necessarily injure them. Their marriages were recognized, so that they were really a part of the community and not mere beasts of burden. If their lord happened to be a just man, generous and peaceful, their lives might be quiet, prosperous, and happy. Unfortunately the lords were often quarrelsome and harsh, waging petty wars upon neighboring lords. In this case the lot of the peasant was terrible, for the best way to starve a lord out was to destroy the crops, burn the village, and kill the peasants.

96. Peasant Burdens. — The ordinary burdens which rested upon the peasants may be described as a rude sort of rent. Its nature appears in an example taken from one of the villages of the Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel. "The tenants must fetch stone, mix mortar, and serve the masons. Toward the last of June, on demand, they must mow and turn hay and draw it to the manor-house. In August they must reap the convent's grain, put it in sheaves, and draw it in." They cannot put in their own grain until some one from the convent has marked out its share, and this has also been carted to the

convent barns. "On the eighth of September the villain owes his pork due, one pig in eight. . . . On the ninth of October he pays the *cens* [a sort of ground rent]. At Christmas he owes his chicken due, also the grain due of two measures of barley and a quart of wheat. On Palm Sunday he owes his sheep due. . . . At Easter . . . he must plough,



ABBEY OF MONT-SAINT-MICHEL.

Built on a rocky isle near the angle of the French coast made by Normandy and Brittany. Its walls were exceptionally strong, and were pierced by only one gate. The northern wall is over a hundred feet high. In the Hundred Years War this abbey-fortress was besieged by the English without success from 1428 to 1444.

sow, and harrow." His grain must be ground at the lord's mill, his bread baked at the lord's bake oven, and his grapes pressed at his winepress. Originally it was an advantage to the village that the lord built mill and bakery and winepress, because the peasants were too poor to provide them, but after a time the favor was transformed into the right to receive the profits of a monopoly. The lord also had the right to sell his

wine and other products first. He generally hired no laborers, for the peasants were obliged to work for him, often several days each week, or at least during certain seasons. Such work might be in the fields or about the castle, or upon the roads and bridges. At one time there had been no legal limit to the amount of this work, but custom and the efforts of the peasants themselves eventually made all rights and privileges definite.

97. Farms. — Outside the cities the land throughout western Europe was divided into great estates, often the size of an American township. In England they were called manors, and in France villas, from which the word "village" comes. Such an estate might belong to a petty noble or to a count, or even to the king. The richest nobles possessed a great many, generally managed by stewards. Each estate was divided into two portions, one of which the lord retained for his own immediate use. The cultivated land which belonged to the peasants was not divided into separate farms, but generally into three great fields, and each field into half-acre strips. The division into three fields was occasioned by the general method of cultivation which allowed the land to rest or lie fallow every third year, a method adopted because the peasants did not know how to fertilize the soil, or properly to vary the crops. Every



CASTLE OF MONTLHÉRY.

About fourteen miles south of Paris, built in the eleventh century. It is situated on a high hill above the village, and threatened the road from Paris to Orleans. The barons who possessed it were often at war with the early Capetian kings. In 1104 it came into possession of Philip I., and a little later it was dismantled by his son, Louis VI.

peasant had several strips in each field, it might be sixty or it might be thirty or even fewer. This curious system of dividing the farms into a number of parcels compelled the peasants to work together more than ordinary farmers do nowadays. Sometimes the lord's land also lay about in the three fields. The peasants did not live in houses scattered over the countryside, but in a closely built village. The manor-house of the lord or his steward might be in the midst of the village or at a little distance, surrounded by his lands. If this house was a castle, it was often placed upon a neighboring hill, from which its strong walls and lofty towers overawed the country for miles around. In addition to the cultivated fields there were meadows, pastures, and woods, to the use of which for their pigs or cattle the peasants had some rights.

98. Duration of Feudalism. — Feudal society reached its earliest and fullest development in France, although the same customs gradually appeared in Germany and England. In Italy the continued existence of many Roman towns gave a peculiar turn to its growth. It remained the form of social order in western Europe until the fourteenth century.

SUMMARY

I. Anarchy in Western Europe. — 1. Lotharingia: (*a*) situation; (*b*) why it fell to pieces so quickly and what separated it from West Francia; (*c*) lands formed out of it and their final destiny. 2. East Francia: (*a*) boundaries; (*b*) the great duchies; (*c*) new reigning houses; (*d*) Hungarian raids; (*e*) dream of Empire. 3. West Francia: (*a*) why its monarchy was weak; (*b*) the later Carolingians and their rivals; (*c*) Danish attacks and their relation to Danish invasions of England; (*d*) origin of the duchy of Normandy. 4. England: (*a*) The kingdom of Wessex; (*b*) the Danish peril; (*c*) Alfred as king; (*d*) Alfred and the Danes, Wedmore.

II. Result, Feudalism, a New Organization of Society. — 1. The individual noble, heir of dying government: (*a*) gathering about himself vassals, pledged to him by ties of honor and grants of benefices; (*b*) treating the offices he holds as hereditary fiefs;



(*c*) independent of royal officers by grants of immunity. 2. Duties of vassalage supersede obedience to law: (*a*) ceremony of homage; (*b*) obligations toward the lord which result. 3. The people, a subject caste: (*a*) classes from which they are descended; (*b*) serfdom as a form of slavery; (*c*) the dues paid by the peasants; (*d*) their manner of life; (*e*) their villages.

FOR COMPARISON. — 1. The way by which in modern states the public work of government and war are provided for, in contrast to the method of the feudal system. 2. The present organization of work in town and country, contrasted with the feudal method.

IMPORTANT DATES

843. Treaty of Verdun.
877. Capitulary of Kiersy.
878. Peace of Wedmore.
911. Creation of the duchy of Normandy.
936. Accession of Otto the Great.
962. Otto becomes emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.
987. Accession of Hugh Capet.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: Tout, *Europe from 918 to 1272* (*Empire and Papacy*); Seignobos (Dow ed.), *Feudal Régime;* Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England;* Keary, *Vikings in Western Christendom.*

PARAGRAPHS: —

80. Fate of Lotharingia: Emerton, *Mediæval Europe*, 30–35; for its subsequent history, see map 8 and paragraphs **134**, **187**, **212**, **250**, **275**.

81. East Francia: Emerton, Ch. 3; Henderson, I., 38–46.

82. West Francia: Kitchin, I., 163–182; Adams, *Growth of the French Nation*, Ch. 5. See below for genealogy of later Carolingians.

83. Alfred: Gardiner, 60–62; Hughes, *Alfred the Great;* Colby, No. 8; selections from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Lee, No. 23; Kendall, No. 8; Anglo-Saxon Laws, Kendall, No. 6; Lee, Ch. 6.

84. Danes in England: Green, 44–61; Church, 199–214; Colby, No. 9.

85. The Normans in France: Kitchin, I., 171–179; in Italy, Emerton, 223–229.

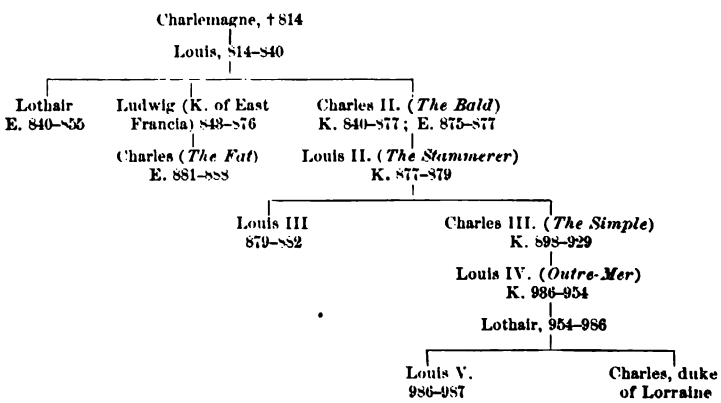
86. The Hungarians: Emerton, 106–109, 130–133.

87–98. Consequences, The Feudal System: The distresses of the age, see Robinson, Ch. 8; best general description in Seignobos, see

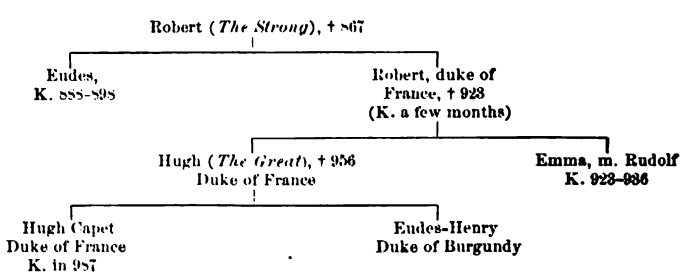
also Emerton, Ch. 4; Adams, *Civilization*, Ch. 9; the selections from European writers in Munro and Sellery, 159–211; Cheyney, Ch. 2; for illustrations of each phase of feudal society including the edicts of Kiersy and Mersen, see *Tr. and Rp.* Vol. IV., No. 3; Thatcher-McNeal, Nos. 180–230; Robinson, Ch. 9 and No. 157; Jones, No. 5.

Additional Reading: Seebohm, *English Village Communities*, with plans of the mediæval manor.

PRINCIPAL DESCENDANTS OF CHARLEMAGNE



HUGH CAPET'S FAMILY



E.=Emperor; K.=King of West Francia or France.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NEW EUROPE, ITS RULERS AND ITS FOES

99. From 936 to 1154. — The years that saw the breaking down of the old system of government saw also the extension of the boundaries of Christendom, until almost all that was to become the new Europe was brought within its limits. This was accomplished either by direct missionary work or by the increasing intercourse between the countries of the north and east with the older lands of the south. The triumph of feudalism was not lasting. It had hardly become the recognized system of western society before it was attacked from above by the kings and mined from below by the people. The Church also felt the danger when its bishops and abbots became hardly distinguishable from ordinary nobles, and attempted to find a remedy in withdrawing the ecclesiastics almost wholly from the control of princes and in subjecting them to the rule of the pope. Europe gained a new sense of unity in the crusades, which were prompted by religious enthusiasm and the love of adventure, and which checked for two or three centuries the Moslem attack on Europe, and particularly on Constantinople.

100. The Border-lands. — The conquests of Charlemagne on the north and east had brought the Christian Frank into rude contact with the pagan Slav. There were two ways in which this half-barbarous Christendom might be extended, — one by driving back the Slav and organizing the captured lands, another by converting the Slav and allowing his tribes to exist as members of the growing family of Christian peoples. The border-lands or marks which under Charlemagne had been

the advance guard of Frankish civilization were reorganized by Otto I., by his son, and his grandson. The Elbe ceased to be the northern frontier. Beyond it lay parts of three great marks, one of which, the Northmark, was, as the mark of Brandenburg, to become the nucleus of the later Prussian kingdom. The Slavs were steadily pushed back toward the Oder. Their lands were partially resettled by German colonists, and new bishopries were founded under the control of the archbishopric of Magdeburg. Still farther east on the Danube the old Eastmark was strengthened. This was to grow into Austria. A solid bulwark of marks thus stretched from northeastern Italy to the Danish lands.

101. Conversion of the Slavs. — It was only through Christianity that the Slavs could hope to strengthen themselves against their western foes, for with Christianity would come some of those traditions of orderly government which were indispensable in the struggle. Moreover, if the Slavs were converted, one motive for the interminable wars would be gone. They vaguely realized this, but their hearts were not touched by the rough missionary monks and priests who followed the German hosts and who seemed more eager to gain lands and revenues than to preach the gospel. One of the Moravian chiefs who had succeeded in gathering nearly all the western Slavs under his rule sent to the emperor at Constantinople in 862 for missionaries of another sort. In response came Cyril and Methodius, two brothers, natives of Thessalonica. They were so successful that ever since they have been regarded as apostles to the Slavs, just as Boniface was the apostle to the Germans. To them the Slavs owed their alphabet and the beginnings of their literature. Bohemia also received its lessons in Christianity from Methodius. The Moravian empire soon collapsed, but the influence of the two missionaries was strengthened even in its ruin, for many of their Slavic converts fled eastward into Bulgaria and assisted in converting this mixed people to Christianity. The strongest barrier against German advance was the Poles, so named because they dwelt

on great plains. Their power of resistance was due largely to the strong organization which the Church gave them. The popes also supported them when they were exposed to German encroachments, so that, centuries afterward, when the Germans threw off papal control, they found few imitators in Poland. In this earlier missionary movement Greek and Latin Christians had worked together. Their rivalry first appeared in the case of Bulgaria, and Prince Boris long hesitated between the Greek and the Roman forms of worship, but in 870 he chose the Greek. The Russian Slavs received Christianity directly from Constantinople toward the year 1000. Their princes were Northmen from the Scandinavian peninsula, but about the time when Prince Vladimir decided to be baptized he determined to surround himself with Slavs. The new religion became a bond between prince and people. Since it was brought from Constantinople, where more of the ancient civilization lingered than in the West, the civilization of Russia in the eleventh century was more advanced than that of western Europe.

102. The Hungarians. — During this period the Magyars, or Hungarians, accepted Christianity. Their great prince, Stephen, was so devoted to the Church that the pope in the year 1000 sent him a royal crown. Since he was the real founder of the Hungarian monarchy, the crown of Hungary has ever been called the crown of St. Stephen.

103. The Northmen. — The frontier of Christianity was pushed northward among the Danes and their wilder kindred in the Scandinavian peninsula. In Denmark the work was completed during the reign of Cnut, who was also king of England. He brought over many English priests to help him, and tried to make of Denmark a new England. The conversion of the Northmen and their organization into Christian kingdoms put an end to their piratical raids.

104. England's Danish Kings. — Cnut had owed his English crown to a new series of Danish invasions. At first the Danes were bought off with the proceeds of a tax called the Danegeld.

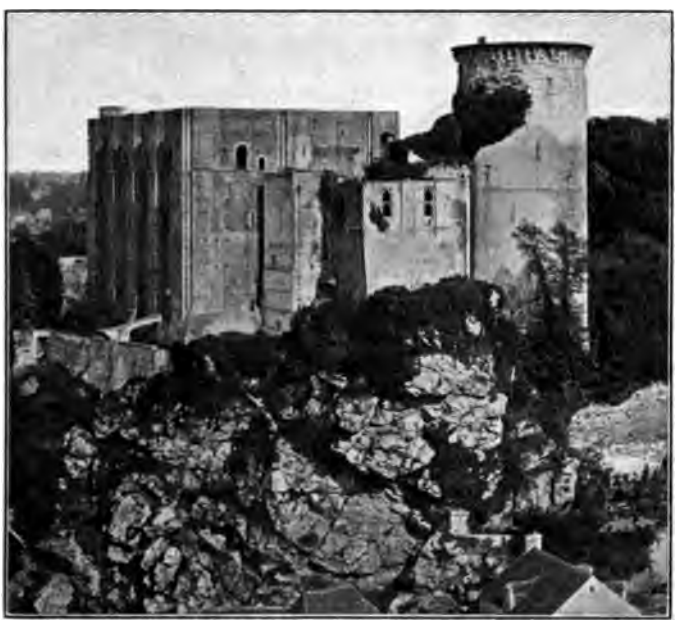
It was no Alfred who had suggested such a scheme, but Æthelred, nicknamed the Rede-less, or unadvised, who became king in 978. Afterward he sought to terrify the invaders by ordering a massacre of all their kindred who had recently settled in the country. Svend, Cnut's father, had avenged this massacre and had made himself king.

105. The English Earls. — During Cnut's reign the great lords, or earldermen, were first called earls, a Danish title. They ruled territories often as large as several counties. In 1042 when Cnut and his sons were dead and the English chose as king a son of Æthelred, the weak Edward the Confessor, who had been living in Normandy, the real power belonged to the earls, and chiefly to Earl Godwine. Godwine's lands included the older kingdom of Wessex, together with Sussex and Kent. To counteract his influence, King Edward looked to his Norman friends, one of whom he made archbishop of Canterbury. Another was William, duke of Normandy, who paid him a visit and who afterward asserted that Edward promised him the crown of England. Although the crown was not Edward's to give, for the lords, bishops, abbots, and other notable men assembled in the council, or Witenagemot, had the right to choose the kings, William went back to Normandy cherishing this promise as a real claim to the throne. Soon afterward Godwine drove away the Norman archbishop of Canterbury. When he died his earldom went to his son Harold.

106. The Duke of Normandy. — Duke William had already shown that he knew how to rule men. As a child he had been left in the midst of jealous barons by his father, who in 1035 went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He had finally subdued his enemies and had made Normandy more orderly than any other region, at least within the limits of France. At first he had been helped by the Capetian kings, for his ancestors had faithfully served the Capetians as their lords even before Hugh became king. But it was hard for a king at Paris to allow the lower course of the Seine to be held by so powerful a vassal.

Twice William had defeated the king before he seized a crown which made him an even more dangerous rival.

107. The Norman Conquest.—In 1066 Edward the Confessor died, and the Witenagemot chose Harold king. William determined to conquer the crown, which he declared rightfully



CASTLE OF FALAISE.

The birthplace, in 1027, of William the Conqueror, son of Duke Robert the Devil and of Arlette a tanner's daughter.

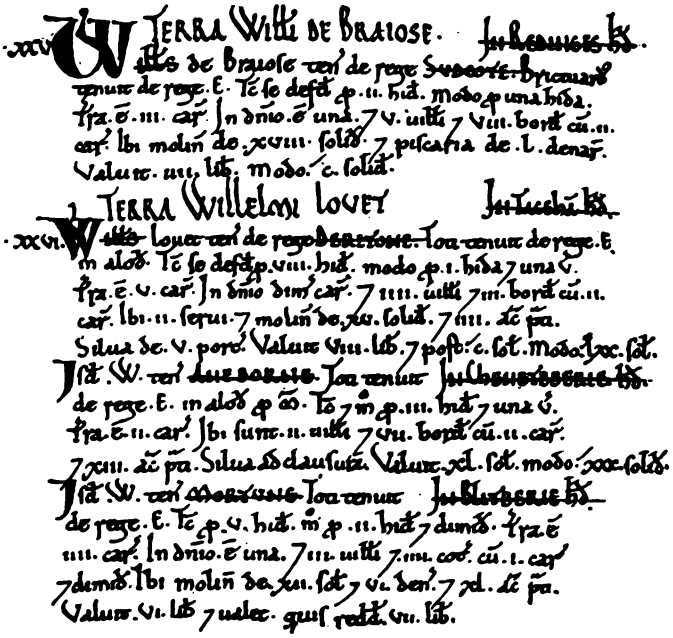
belonged to him. From every side came warriors eager for a share in the spoil. He received a consecrated banner from the pope, who had been offended by the English treatment of the Norman archbishop, and who thought that such a conquest would make England more obedient to the papacy. Harold could get no aid from the jealous earls. His own brother took the opportunity to invade England with an army of Norwegians.

Victorious over this enemy, he hastened southward to meet William, who had already landed. The decisive battle was fought at Senlac near Hastings. Harold was killed and his army scattered. The English had no choice save submission to William, the "Conqueror."

108. William as King. — Although William was cruel to all who resisted him, his triumph was an advantage to England, henceforward more closely united to the Continent, which was already stirred by a new religious, intellectual, and artistic life. Several of England's most imposing cathedrals, built by Norman architects, still stand as witnesses to this influence. William also gave the country a stronger government. In Normandy there had been few great lords to thwart his efforts and all men had held their fiefs directly of him. He applied the same system in England, breaking up the great earldoms and scattering the lands of the richer earls, so that they could not easily bring together their followers to dispute his authority. He held them in check also by increasing the power of the sheriffs. He insisted that all landowners swear fealty to him. Who they were he knew, for he had caused an exact statement of all property to be set down in Domesday Book, so named, perhaps, because its records could no more be questioned than "dooms" of the Judgment Day. In his effort to check unruly nobles he was aided by the old English county courts, where lords, bishops, abbots, and delegates from the towns met to settle cases too important to be decided by the manorial or town courts. Here was administered by the freemen themselves the old English law, and not the will of some great noble. Such meetings foreshadowed a day when the same classes of men would unite to wrest from William's successors stronger safeguards for their laws and their liberties.

109. The Holy Roman Empire. — None of the German kings before Otto had ventured to march into Italy, and, like another Charlemagne, win the imperial crown. The papacy had not gained by the withdrawal of such a protector, troublesome

though he occasionally was, for without him it might be degraded into a local bishopric fought over by the rude lords of Rome or the neighboring towns. It was at the call of the pope for protection that Otto came in 962. He was crowned



DOMESDAY BOOK.

Reduced facsimile of entries, the record of a survey of the population and resources of England in 1086.

emperor, and was the first of a long line of German kings to bear this title. The Empire was called the Holy Roman or German-Roman Empire. Some of its earlier days were glorious; but it lingered so long after its power was lost that before Napoleon gave it the *coup de grâce* in 1806, it had, as a witty writer remarked, ceased to be Holy, or Roman, or an Empire. Nearly a century after Otto's coronation, Henry III., the Fran-

conian, again restored the papacy. Finding that three unworthy men each claimed to be pope, he summoned the synod of Sutri in 1046, and at this they were deposed and a German bishop chosen pope. The two following popes were also selected by the emperor. Never again was the imperial power to be so great or so useful at Rome.

110. Church and State. — There were churchmen who believed that real betterment must come from within the Church rather than from emperors or kings. The greatest enemy was the anarchy which had resulted in the feudal system and which exposed rich abbeys and influential bishoprics to the schemes of covetous and unscrupulous men. When ordinary fiefs became hereditary, the shortest road to power lay through Church positions. To obtain these, all that might be necessary was the favor of a king or of some great noble. Occasionally such support might be purchased for a sum of money, or the promise of a part of the annual revenues. But since it was believed that God granted to the bishops a special gift of the Holy Spirit, those who purchased bishoprics seemed hardly better than Simon Magus, and so their offence was called simony. Zealous churchmen thought that if the choice of abbots and bishops was kept wholly in the hands of the clergy, this particular sin would be prevented. To such a safeguard the kings objected that bishops and abbots were also lords, that they not only managed the religious affairs of monasteries or dioceses, but also ruled over extensive lands, within which they could collect taxes, raise troops, and administer justice; in other words, that they were royal officers in whose selection the monarchy had a deep interest. For this reason they were obliged to do homage and become vassals like other lords. Even the payment of money when they were put in possession of their temporalities, as the rights of rule were called, did not seem unreasonable from the king's point of view, since ordinary lords were obliged to pay such sums under the name of reliefs. Churchmen were also scandalized because the kings in granting to bishops the temporalities chose as symbols the



staff or shepherd's crook, and the ring, which typified the marriage of Christ and the Church. What, said they, had men of blood to do with these holy things?

111. Celibacy of the Clergy. — Another custom which seemed to threaten the welfare of the Church was the marriage of the clergy. This was contrary to Church laws, but had become prevalent throughout the West. There was danger that the priesthood might become an hereditary caste, and that bishoprics and abbeys might pass permanently to certain families. Although this danger was still remote, it greatly troubled men who saw in the celibacy of the clergy a requirement of the Christian law.

112. The Cluny Reformers. — The leaders in the movement to enforce the celibacy of the clergy, to check simony, and to free the Church from the control of the kings were under the influence of the monastery of Cluny. From its walls monks went out to reform other Benedictine monasteries, or to fill bishoprics and archbishoprics. It was a Cluny monk, Hildebrand, who is said to have persuaded Bishop Bruno, sent by Henry III. to Rome as pope in 1048, not to assume the name of pope until he had been chosen at Rome. Once pope, as Leo IX., and perhaps moved by Hildebrand, he vigorously undertook the work of rooting simony out of the Church. He held synods in France, Germany, and Italy, at which bishops were summoned to declare whether they had paid this guilty money: those who refused were excommunicated, those who confessed were punished. A few years after his death the same party, in 1059, in order to diminish the emperor's influence over the choice of the popes, transferred the right of choice to a body of clergy who were either bishops of sees near Rome or held offices in the churches of Rome itself. This body was called the College of Cardinals.

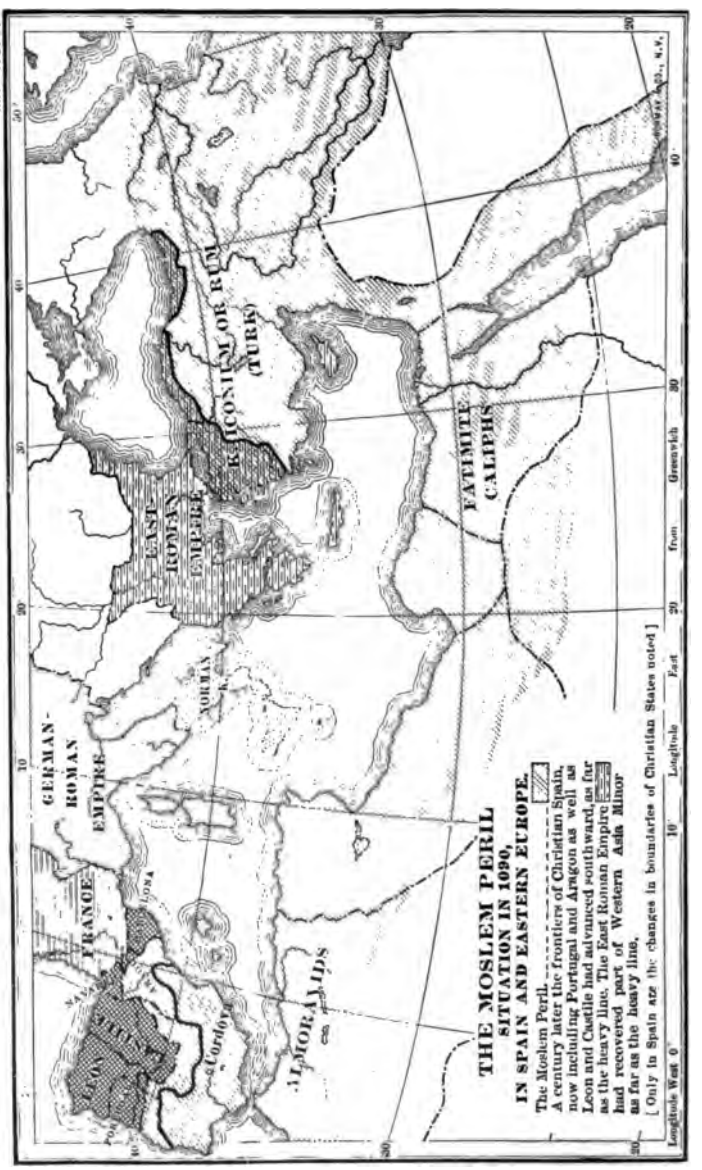
113. Gregory VII. — Sooner or later a struggle was inevitable between this party and the emperor, and even the kings of France and England. It began in 1073, when Hildebrand was chosen pope as Gregory VII. Gregory was determined not

only to put a stop to simony and to enforce celibacy, but also to forbid the investiture of bishops by princes with the symbols of the ring and the staff. Gregory's ambitions went even farther, for he held that the pope as vicar of Christ was the spiritual judge of the world, set over it to pluck up and to destroy, to build and to plant. If he was to wield such power, it must be through his control over the bishops, and he could not control them if they held of ordinary princes in the strict feudal sense. Accordingly Gregory issued a decree forbidding investiture by laymen. His antagonist in this conflict was well chosen. It was not William the Conqueror, it was not even the more feeble Philip of France; but it was Henry IV. of Germany, young, headstrong, involved in a bitter quarrel with the Saxons, and whose control in Italy endangered the independence of the Roman see itself.

114. Investiture Struggle. — Henry paid no attention to the papal decree, and continued to invest German and Italian abbots and bishops. In this case his offence was not that of accepting money, but simply of conferring the investiture. The pope threatened him with excommunication. Henry retaliated by summoning a German council at which the bishops renounced their allegiance to the pope and charged him with being himself guilty of simony and with ruining the Church by his violence. Henry had too many enemies in Germany to carry things with such a high hand. When the pope excommunicated him, every rebellious heart found an excuse for no longer recognizing him as king. Pious churchmen also believed that so long as he lay under the ban of excommunication no Christian could hold intercourse with him. Henry found power slipping away so hopelessly that the only chance of recovering it lay through obtaining at least formal pardon from the pope. Although it was winter he crossed the Alps, with only a few attendants, to meet Gregory in Italy, for the pope had announced his intention to hold a council in Germany, and Henry wished to spare himself the ignominy of a public humiliation in his own kingdom. In January, 1077, just a

year from the time when he and his bishops had attacked the pope, he was standing in the courtyard at Canossa, clad in the penitent's garb, begging absolution. For three days the pope would not listen. Even his own supporters cried out against his cruelty. Once the ban of excommunication was removed, Henry returned to Germany and crushed his enemies. When Gregory again tried to interfere, Henry did not hesitate to set up a rival pope and to drive Gregory from Rome. Gregory found refuge among the Norman princes who were building up a kingdom in southern Italy and Sicily, on the ruins of the Greek and Lombard lands. He died in 1085, and his last words were, "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile." Soon the papacy was to gain a new point of vantage in this struggle, for it stood forth as the real leader of Christendom in the conflict with the Mohammedans.

115. The Moslem Peril. — The early attacks of the Mohammedans upon Constantinople had failed, and in the eleventh century the Byzantine Empire controlled all Asia Minor as well as its European territories. Even before Charlemagne's day the Mohammedan empire or caliphate had begun to fall to pieces. A separate caliphate was formed in Spain, with its capital at Cordova. Sometime later another caliphate was established in Egypt at Cairo. The caliphs of Bagdad finally succumbed to Turkish chieftains of the Seljuk family. In Spain the caliphate of Cordova was broken into petty Mohammedan states, so that for a time the Christians from the north pushed their frontiers farther and farther south, and enlarged the little kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, and Portugal. Suddenly, toward the close of the eleventh century, the scene changed. The Turks overran Asia Minor and established there the sultanate of Rum. They captured Antioch, which for a century had been a Greek stronghold. Jerusalem, hitherto under the mild rule of the Egyptian caliphs, had also come into their hands. The pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, who had been well treated by the Egyptians, were plundered and perse-


MAP NO. 9.
GERMAN-ROMAN EMPIRE
FRANCE
LEON
Cordova
ALMORAVIDS
MOORS
EAST ROMAN EMPIRE
SELJUKIAN OR RUM (TURKS)
FATIMITE CALIPHS
THE MOSLEM PERIL
SITUATION IN 1090,
IN SPAIN AND EASTERN EUROPE.
The Moslem Peril.
A century later the frontiers of Christian Spain, now including Portugal and Aragon as well as Leon and Castile had advanced southward, as far as the heavy line. The East Roman Empire had recovered part of Western Asia Minor as far as the heavy line.
[Only in Spain are the changes in boundaries of Christian States noted.]
Longitude West 0°
10°
Longitude East
20°
from Greenwich
30°

cuted by the Seljuks. The Emperor Alexius sent from Constantinople urgent appeals to the pope for aid. But the danger was still nearer. Bands of fanatical Mohammedans from Africa poured into Spain and, in 1087, defeated the Castilians at Zalacca. The southern Frenchmen who had once suffered from Mohammedan raids were alarmed. So was the pope, for ever since the Saracens had occupied Sicily in the ninth century Italy had been harried by their bands and some of its towns occupied. It was clearly necessary to act if the new assault of Asia was to be beaten back.



CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

Situated on the traditional site of Our Lord's tomb. A church was erected here by Constantine in 336. This is the fourth structure and was begun in 1810.

116. The Call for a Crusade. — The warriors of western Europe were ready for some grand enterprise. The gradual settling down of society into the framework of the feudal system constantly lessened opportunities for adventure, with the glory of warfare and the hope of plunder. The merchants of southern France and Italy were eager to turn their ships again toward the East. The religious revival which had suggested the Cluny reforms also made men ready to sacrifice their lives in the attempt to wrest from the Saracens the Sepulchre of the Lord. It was natural that the pope should put himself at the head of such a movement. Pope Urban II. had been even less inclined than Gregory to make any compromise in the matter

of simony and lay investiture. He had an open quarrel not only with Henry IV. of Germany, but with Philip I. of France and William Rufus of England. Although these contests were by no means settled in his favor, he boldly undertook the new and still more difficult enterprise. He went to France, and in burning words at the council of Clermont aroused the multitude to irresistible enthusiasm. Thousands of men cried out, "God wills it, God wills it," and, affixing a little cloth cross upon their shoulders, pledged themselves to enlist for the crusade. A monkish preacher, Peter the Hermit, was so successful as he went through the country in spreading this enthusiasm that after generations took him, rather than Pope Urban, for the hero of the crusade.

117. The Crusaders Start. — The council of Clermont was held in November, 1095, and the pope named August 15, 1096, as the time for the departure of the armies. In order to persuade men to take the cross, he had publicly promised those who set out in penitence remission of all their sins, and those who perished an immediate entrance into paradise. Their families and their property were put under the special protection of the Church. It is not strange that with motives of such different kinds acting upon them soldiers gathered for the holy war. Multitudes of men, women, and children, whom the leaders did not wish, were impatient to have a share in these benefits. Before the day for the start came, great bands set out under Peter the Hermit and a knight named Walter the Penniless. Most of them perished in Hungary and Bulgaria, and the others were cut to pieces by the Turks in Asia Minor. Finally the four regularly organized armies started by different routes to meet at Constantinople at the end of the year. The most notable leaders were Godfrey of Bouillon and Bohemond of Tarentum.

118. In Syria and at Jerusalem. — When the Emperor Alexius saw the hosts gathering under his walls he was alarmed, though he had sent messengers into the West asking for such assistance. His chief fear was that they would recover his

lost lands only to hold them themselves. He finally persuaded the leaders to swear homage to him and transported them across to Asia Minor. The march toward Antioch over the burning plains was deadly to thousands of the army. Only through the treachery of an Armenian in the service of the Turks were the crusaders able, in June, 1098, to take Antioch. Dazzled by the spoils of the city, they became as ruthless pillagers and as cruel enemies as the rudest barbarians. They also fell to quarrelling among themselves over the conquered territory. Already Godfrey's brother had made his way to Edessa to build up a principality. Bohemond claimed Antioch as his share. The leaders began to abandon all idea of attempting the capture of Jerusalem, but their followers insisted that all their toils and sufferings should not be in vain. When the crusaders arrived before the Holy City, in July, 1099, they were reduced to an army of thirty or forty thousand half-starved men. Their only chance was a bold assault. This succeeded. Once in the city they massacred their enemies, — men, women, and children. They wrote to the pope, "If you desire to know what was done with the enemy who were found there, know that in Solomon's porch and in his temple our men rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses."

119. The Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099–1244. — This newly conquered territory was organized into a kingdom, and the crown was offered to Godfrey. He refused the title but accepted the task, calling himself the Protector of the Holy Sepulchre. This was the beginning of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which lasted nearly two hundred years. When Godfrey died, his brother Baldwin came from Edessa and did not hesitate to wear the crown. He and the other princes speedily took on the manners, and some of them even adopted the language, of the East. The crusade, judged by its own ideals, had been a failure, but it did delay the advance of the Turk and gave to the eastern Empire a new lease of life. It also must have encouraged the Spaniards in their age-long

crusade against the Moors, as the western Mohammedans were called. The Italian merchants took advantage of the conquest to organize a flourishing trade in the eastern Mediterranean.

120. The Quarrel between Church and State Compromised. — Not long after the end of this first crusade the conflict between the papacy and the kings was settled by a little yielding on each side. There were several bishops in France, especially Ive of Chartres, who argued that it was possible to distinguish between the goods or temporalities that the clergy held as royal vassals and their religious authority. The form of the investiture might be changed, although kings must insist that the clergy should recognize their obligations when they received lands and power. William the Conqueror's wise son Henry I. was the first monarch to reach such an agreement with the Church. He had long been in controversy over the matter with Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, and one of the most saintly and learned men of the time. Finally it was agreed that the clergy should elect their bishops and abbots freely, but that they must do it in the king's court, and that when elected these churchmen should do homage for their temporalities. This was in 1106. Somewhere about the same time the king of France ceased to invest the churchmen, apparently believing that he could care for the royal interests sufficiently without receiving from them formal homage. Fifteen years later, in 1122, Henry V. of Germany, the son of Henry IV., made a compromise, called the Concordat of Worms, which was like the English settlement. The choices were to be made in his presence, and he was to invest with a touch of the sceptre, instead of with the ring and the staff. When put in possession of their lands the churchmen were to do homage as vassals. This ended the first conflict between the papacy and the German-Roman Empire, but their struggle for supremacy, especially as rivals in Italy, was yet to be settled.

121. The King of France. — Shortly after the duke of Normandy had become king of England the Capetian kings of France began their slow advance toward real monarchical



power. Hugh Capet had pushed aside the last heir of Charlemagne, because, as duke of France, he was richer in lands than any of the later rulers of the Carolingian house, and because influential churchmen supported him. In the struggle to gain adherents and to prepare the way for his triumph, he had lavished privileges and fiefs upon his followers, so that after he became king he was weaker than he had been as duke. His son, his grandson, and his great-grandson did scarcely anything to recover more effective power. They were hardly to be distinguished from other great nobles save in their title and in the rights which they possessed over many bishoprics and abbeys outside their domain. This domain was a narrow strip of territory extending from a little north of Paris to some miles south of Orleans. East of the domain lay the possessions of the count of Champagne, and west those of the count of Blois and of the duke of Normandy. The king could raise no taxes, he had no regular army, he could not make laws. His income, like that of other lords, came chiefly from the produce of his estates. When bishoprics or abbeys fell vacant he could administer the property and collect the revenues until the vacancy was filled. Even this right, which belonged to him as king, could not be used in the case of bishoprics in Normandy. In spite of his weak position the Church recognized him as the anointed of the Lord. Since churchmen worked instinctively for peace and order, they supported the king against the turbulent vassals. The people also vaguely felt that the king might become a bulwark against oppression, and occasionally whole parishes joined the king's forces in destroying the stronghold of some robber baron. One thing saved the early Capetians from losing the little they had. Each king was able several years before his death to associate his son with him in the government. Accordingly no bargains had to be made with the nobles to obtain the crown, and hereditary succession rather than election became the rule. The first important addition to the king's domain was made by Philip I., Hugh's great-grandson, who purchased the viscounty

of Bourges, south of the Loire. His son, Louis VI., was wise enough to see that he must first beat down the troublesome barons of the domain in order to find standing-ground from which to extend the royal influence among the greater feudal vassals. All his life, until he had grown too stout to ride, he was constantly in the saddle, fighting the petty barons whose donjons lay almost at the gates of Paris. His efforts were supported by the Abbot Suger of St. Denis, who had great influence over the Church. Just before Louis died in 1137 he arranged a marriage between his son, Louis VII., and Eleanor, the heiress of Aquitaine. Had this marriage been successful, the power of the French king would have been extended over all the region between the Loire and the Pyrenees.

122. Henry, Count of Anjou. — Unfortunately for France, the marriage of Louis VII. and Eleanor was a failure, and Louis had it annulled by the Church upon the ground that he and Eleanor were too near of kin. So rich a prize was eagerly coveted by a man who was more far-sighted. It happened that William the Conqueror's son, Henry, lost his son by shipwreck before his own death, and attempted to bind his barons to support his daughter Matilda as queen. He then married Matilda to the count of Anjou, whose lands lay on both sides of the lower Loire. A grandson of William, Stephen of Blois, upset this arrangement and made himself king, but the struggle of the two parties reduced England almost to anarchy. By and by Matilda's son Henry grew old enough to fight his mother's battles, and compelled Stephen to agree that he should be the next king. Just before this he had married the repudiated duchess of Aquitaine and had added that duchy to his other possessions, Normandy and Anjou. He now held more French land than his lord, the king of France. When he became king of England, in 1154, the Capetian monarch at Paris seemed insignificant in comparison. But there was at least one force on the side of the Capetian kings which had not been taken account of, and that was geography. It was the English Channel which kept the English-Norman-Angevin empire from ever becoming a really united country.

SUMMARY

I. Advance of Christendom. — 1. Conquest of Slavs: (*a*) by force, organization of conquered lands; (*b*) by missionaries, Cyril and Methodius; (*c*) cases of Russia and of Bulgaria. 2. Hungary. 3. Conversion of Danes and Northmen, partly through union of England and Denmark.

II. Empire and Church. — 1. Holy Roman Empire: (*a*) origin; (*b*) relation to papacy under Otto I. and Henry III.; (*c*) the choice of bishops and abbots, conflict of interests between Church and Empire. 2. Reform in Church: (*a*) question of celibacy; (*b*) reformers under Hildebrand strengthen the papacy. 3. Gregory VII. and Henry IV.: (*a*) Gregory's theory of his power; (*b*) his decrees; (*c*) his antagonist; (*d*) the conflict, Canossa; (*e*) compromise in England, France, and Germany.

III. Christian and Moslem. — 1. The Moslem peril: (*a*) from Turks; (*b*) in Spain. 2. The First Crusade: (*a*) call; (*b*) motives of crusaders; (*c*) the expedition; (*d*) the results, kingdom of Jerusalem.

IV. England and France. — 1. The Capetians: (*a*) nature of their power; (*b*) attitude of Church and people; (*c*) policy of Louis VI. 2. Norman Conquest: (*a*) succession to English crown since the Danish invasions recommenced; (*b*) William of Normandy and his claim to English throne; (*c*) the Conquest and its results; (*d*) Eleanor of Aquitaine, Louis VII., and Henry II.

IMPORTANT DATES

862. Beginning of conversion of Slavs.
962. Restoration by Otto of the Empire.
987. Hugh Capet, king of France.
1000. Conversion of Hungarians and Russians.
1059. Creation of College of Cardinals.
1066. Norman Conquest.
1077. Canossa.
1095. First Crusade.
1099. Kingdom of Jerusalem.
1122. Concordat of Worms.
1154. Accession of Henry II., count of Anjou and duke of Normandy, to throne of England.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: Freeman, *Short History of the Norman Conquest;* Tout, *Empire and Papacy;* Stephens, *Hildebrand* (Gregory VII.); Macy, *The English Constitution;* Archer and Kingsford, *The Crusades.*

PARAGRAPHS: —

100. The Marks: Emerton, 146–148.

101. Conversion of the Slavs: Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, IV., 124–142; Rambaud, I., Ch. 5.

102. The Hungarians: Schaff, 135–138.

103–104. Danish England: Gardiner, 81–86; Kendall, Nos. 11, 12; Colby, No. 10.

106–108. Norman Conquest: Freeman; battle of Hastings or Senlac, Ramsay, II., 24–36; from contemporaries, Kendall, Nos. 13–16; Colby, Nos. 12, 13, 15, 16; Robinson, Nos. 97, 98; Lee, Nos. 44–53; documents illustrating Domesday survey, Adams and Stephens, Nos. 2–4; character of English feudalism under William, Macy, Ch. 10.

109–114, 120. Empire and Papacy: Bryce, Ch. 10; Adams, *Civilization*, Ch. 10; Emerton, Ch. 7; Alzog, II., 481–510; documents, letters, contemporary accounts illustrating each phase, Henderson, *Documents*, 351–409; Thatcher-McNeal, Nos. 60–80; Robinson, Chs. 12, 13; case of William the Conqueror, in Lee, Nos. 50–51; Colby, No. 14. For **110** see **38, 88, 90**. For **111** see **40**.

115. The Moslem Peril: condition in Spain, Burke, I., 201–204; advance of Seljuks, Oman, *Byzantine Empire*, Ch. 20; *Mediæval Pilgrims*, Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, 338-403; Byzantine Civilization, Munro and Sellery, 212–223.

116. Call for a Crusade: Kitchin, I., 216–224; Emerton, 358–364; longer account in Archer and Kingsford; documents, in *Tr. and Rp.*, I., No. 2; Thatcher-McNeal, Nos. 278–281; Robinson, Nos. 123, 124; Colby, No. 17.

117. The March: Emerton, 364–365; Thatcher-McNeal, Nos. 282, 283.

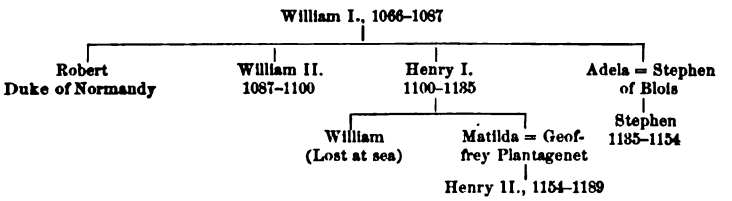
118, 119. In Syria and Jerusalem: Emerton, 365–374; letters of the crusaders, etc., *Tr. and Rp.*, I., No. 4; Robinson, Nos. 126–127.

120. The Investiture Question, settlements: in England, Gardiner, 125–126; in Germany, Henderson, *Documents*, 408–409; Thatcher-McNeal, Nos. 83–86; Emerton, 269.

121. The Early Capetians: Kitchin, I., 188–214; from Suger's *Life of Louis VI.*, Robinson, No. 93, or Jones, No. 5.

122. The Heirs of the Conqueror: wreck of the "White Ship," Colby, No. 20.

THE FAMILY OF WILLIAM (THE CONQUEROR)



For Review, Chs. 5–7: attempt to restore imperial authority, collapse of Charlemagne's empire; the feudal substitute for a strong State; beginnings of the new national monarchies. Period, 714–1154.

I. GEOGRAPHY. — 1. Size of Charlemagne's empire compared with: (*a*) the old Roman Empire; (*b*) with the Holy Roman Empire of Otto. 2. Christendom: (*a*) Christian states and peoples outside Charlemagne's empire in 814; (*b*) direction of Christendom's advance; (*c*) agencies of advance, monarchs like Charlemagne, Cnut, Stephen, Vladimir; missionaries like Boniface, Cyril, and Methodius; (*d*) Moslem peril in eighth century and in eleventh; (*e*) Crusades as counter-stroke.

II. GOVERNMENT. — 1. Struggle to preserve a united State: (*a*) by putting down local insurrections; (*b*) by just and strong government, case of Charlemagne and the *missi*. 2. Obstacles to success: (*a*) continual wars impoverish the freemen and bring them under control of nobles; (*b*) grants of immunity; (*c*) quarrels between descendants of Charlemagne; (*d*) raids of Northmen or Danes.

III. FEUDAL SYSTEM, A SUBSTITUTE FOR A GENERAL GOVERNMENT. — 1. In time of war. 2. In management of local affairs. 3. In method of meeting expenses of government.

IV. MONARCHS BEGIN TO RESTORE ROYAL AUTHORITY. — 1. Policy of William the Conqueror. 2. Policy of the early Capetians. 3. Effort of the popes to keep feudalism from controlling the Church: (*a*) by establishing the College of Cardinals; (*b*) by forbidding the investiture of bishops and abbots by kings and nobles; (*c*) by punishing simony.

Special Review: EMPIRE AND PAPACY. — 1. Papacy and the Franks: (*a*) donations of Pepin and Charlemagne; (*b*) attitude of the popes toward emperors at Constantinople; (*c*) toward Charlemagne's plan to become king of Lombards. 2. Papacy and the German emperors, Otto and Henry III. 3. Gregory VII. and Henry IV. 4. The compromises of the early twelfth century.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RISE OF THE PEOPLE

123. The People. — In feudal society little account had been taken of the common people in town and country. The countrymen were rarely united enough to compel either lords or kings to listen to their grievances, but the time had come when the towns could make themselves heard. Trade had caused them to grow, and with this growth had come the power not only to gain new privileges for trade, but also to secure for themselves a share in the management of their own affairs. In France they helped the kings in the struggle against the feudal lords. In Italy they allied themselves with the papacy to prevent the restoration of imperial authority. In England they were later to unite with the barons to restrain headstrong kings and to lay the foundations of parliament. With their prosperity the stock of money increased, so that kings were able to collect taxes, to hire soldiers, and to pay officials, freeing themselves from their dependence on the nobles. In such ways the rise of the towns was the doom of feudalism.

124. The Townsmen. — A few of the towns which existed in the eleventh century had once been Roman cities, but most of these had been ruined by the invasions or in the long wars which followed. Here and there other towns, like St. Denis and Münster, were growing up under the protection of monastery walls. Still others, like Bruges and Ghent, had been built beside the castle of some noble family which had the reputation of dealing justly with its peasants. The inhabitants of all, except possibly of a few in the south or in Italy,

were hardly freer than the peasants. Like them they could not leave their property to any save their direct heirs, nor could they marry outside the territory of their lord without his consent. They were also at first forced to pay to the lord whatever he chose to demand. The only limit was the necessity of allowing them enough to live on. Since every-



CARCASSONNE.

A Gallo-Roman city which survived the invasions and the wars which followed. In 1247 it came into the possession of Louis IX. He and his son extended its fortifications. This view shows the causeway leading up to the gate of the Aude. Another view of the city on page 23.

thing tends to settle into a fixed custom, the demands of the lords were gradually restricted to what they had been wont to ask. New demands were called bad customs, and peasants and townsmen clamored to be relieved of them. After a while some of the customs were written down. Such a writing or charter looked very much like an agreement or contract between the lord and his people. Hitherto contracts had been

made only by freemen, that is, lords or vassals, with one another. But here was a step in advance, which made the people a part of the recognized social order and not merely despised underlings. Many lords perceived that their own prosperity depended upon the welfare of their peasants or townspeople. They encouraged agriculture, industry, and trade. Merchants travelled from town to town or gathered at fairs. Money was used even by peasants in paying their dues to the lords. Since the artisans found a sale for their wares their numbers increased, and the towns became centres of busy life.

125. Peace. — Churchmen, partly under the leadership of the Cluny reformers, attempted to put an end to the petty wars of the lords or at least to protect from harm peaceful men, peasants and merchants as well as priests and monks. These efforts became frequent toward the end of the tenth century. To accomplish this they proclaimed a curse upon plunderers of churches and upon those who stole "the goods of the peasant or of other poor, his sheep or his cow or his ass," and upon any one who should strike a deacon or a priest. Since the rude robber barons were not thus to be frightened into goodness, the churchmen sought to compel lords as well as people, gathered in great assemblies, to swear not to plunder priests or peasants or merchants. In some places every one over fifteen was to promise to march against those who broke this agreement, called the Peace of God, because it was supposed that God had commanded his clergy to ordain it. A little later the churchmen tried to check war by what was called the Truce of God. This commanded not merely that certain classes of men be undisturbed when there was fighting, but that fighting should cease during the holier days of the week, from Wednesday night until Monday morning. The Truce was also extended to all other holy days, and thus was made to cover a good part of the year. Monarchs sought to enforce the King's Peace, or the Peace of the Land. Although the quarrelsome lords often defied

both Church and monarch, these efforts showed that wise men had become convinced that an end should be put to ruinous neighborhood wars and plundering expeditions.

126. The Crusades and Trade. — Before the crusades only a few Mediterranean cities, like Venice and Genoa, had been able to maintain a trade with Constantinople and the East. To them the conquest of Syria and Palestine offered new opportunities. It also attracted thither merchants from other western towns. The crusaders brought back wonderful accounts of the wealth and luxury of Constantinople and Antioch, and of the beautiful fabrics offered for sale in eastern markets. Both lords and ladies must have eagerly desired such things to make the halls of their rude castles less dreary. Songs began to describe "the rich stuffs of Syria, the tapestries of Persia, the pearls, the precious stones, the perfumes of Arabia and Palestine."

127. Influence of Arabian Civilization. — Western Europeans had earlier come in contact with Arabian civilization in Spain, but not until this time did they realize its magnificence. Merchants now brought from the East silk, satin, velvet, gauze, taffeta, and carpets. Here and there artisans succeeded in making similar goods, so that new industries were created. For example, the Venetians learned how to make and cut glass. Others learned paper-making, the culture of hemp and flax and sugar cane. The older industries improved when the greater artistic skill of the East put to shame crude workmanship. Fairs multiplied. Those held in the county of Champagne, east of Paris, were particularly successful because it was easy for merchants to reach them by waterways from north, west, or south. In England the greatest fairs were held at Stourbridge near Boston. Such fairs lasted about forty days and brought together merchants from all the world. The new commerce and industry which made them so successful helped the towns also. Those along the great trade routes were the first to gain wealth and importance. From Italy and southern France the new life passed to the Rhine country and

northern France. English towns were stirred by it, partly because the Norman Conquest had made closer their relations with the Continental cities.



THE ALCAZAR AT SEVILLE.

A palace built by the Moors in the twelfth century. This portion shows the beauty and grace of their architecture and sculpture.

128. Towns and Self-government. — In Italy those Roman towns which had survived had lost their ancient form of government and were ruled by the bishops. The other lords did not, like the lords north of the Alps, dwell in isolated castles, but had their houses within the town walls. They were all

the more ready to cast in their lot with the townsmen in any attempt to throw off the yoke of the bishop. If such an attempt succeeded, as it often did after the eleventh century opened, the lords and the merchants or artisans chose consuls to rule over them, a name recalling the glorious days of the Roman Republic. The most important of these cities were Milan and Florence. Nearly all were to play a part in the new struggle between pope and emperor. In Germany, Henry the Fowler (919–936) had insisted that in such a border country as Saxony every ninth man should live in a fortified place, where, also, markets should be established. His reason had been the necessities of defence against the Hungarians and other marauders. Trade had still more to do with the growth of German cities. Unlike the Italian cities they did not at first gain the right to govern themselves, for the emperor was strong enough to prevent an attempt to set aside his direct rule. How much power any French town was to obtain depended upon its situation. Within their own domain the kings or the dukes of Normandy granted valuable privileges, but not the right of self-government, unless a town was exposed to attack and needed a strong local power. The king encouraged such independence in the towns within the domains of his lords, for this helped him hold the lords in check, and enabled him to acquire some control over these very towns.

129. The French Communes. — It was in northern France and in what is now Belgium that the towns most frequently, in the later years of the eleventh and in the early part of the twelfth century, gained the right to govern themselves or to become "communes." Generally a guild of merchants took the lead in organizing the townsmen. The unions of artisans were not yet strong enough to do this. In most cases the lord granted without a fight the privilege demanded, for the merchants were ready to pay well, and his treasury was usually in sore need of money. It might happen that he wished to go upon a crusade, or it might be necessary for him to pay a ransom, or to obtain help in some neighborhood war. Such

needs gave the townsmen their opportunity. Sometimes they did not obtain control of all the town; and the citadel or even a whole quarter remained in the lord's power. If he would not sell the townsmen what they wanted, they occasionally seized it by force. It was rare, however, that such a bloody quarrel broke out as stained the old Carolingian town of Laôn. The lord of the town was a fighting bishop who employed his black slave in torturing those who displeased him. Once while he was absent the people bribed his agents to permit a commune, and on his return they paid the bishop to confirm the grant. They also sought to make a friend of the king by paying him. Soon this money was gone and the bishop absolved both the king and himself from their promises and suppressed the commune. The climax came in 1112. When the bishop was warned of the angry mood of the townsmen, he roughly retorted that they would not dare grunt if his negro John tweaked them by the nose. The next day the streets resounded to the cry, "Commune, commune," and the people burst into the bishop's house. He had hidden in a barrel in his cellar, but he was found and murdered. The other lords took vengeance on the townsmen. The king finally interfered and a few years later reëstablished the commune under the significant name of Institute of Peace. The principal thing which distinguished a commune from a town with privileges was that in a commune the men all swore to stand by one another, and that together they became much like a lord, doing homage to their lord, ruling their town, and able as a body to acquire other fiefs.

130. Towns with Privileges. — Many of the towns which were not allowed to turn themselves into monster lords of this kind were quite as well off, for they received charters of privileges, protecting them against unjust exactions by the agents of the king or of their lord, often reducing the sums of money and the amount of the fines which they owed, and granting them many valuable rights of trade. Sometimes the charter granted to one town was so popular that it was given to other

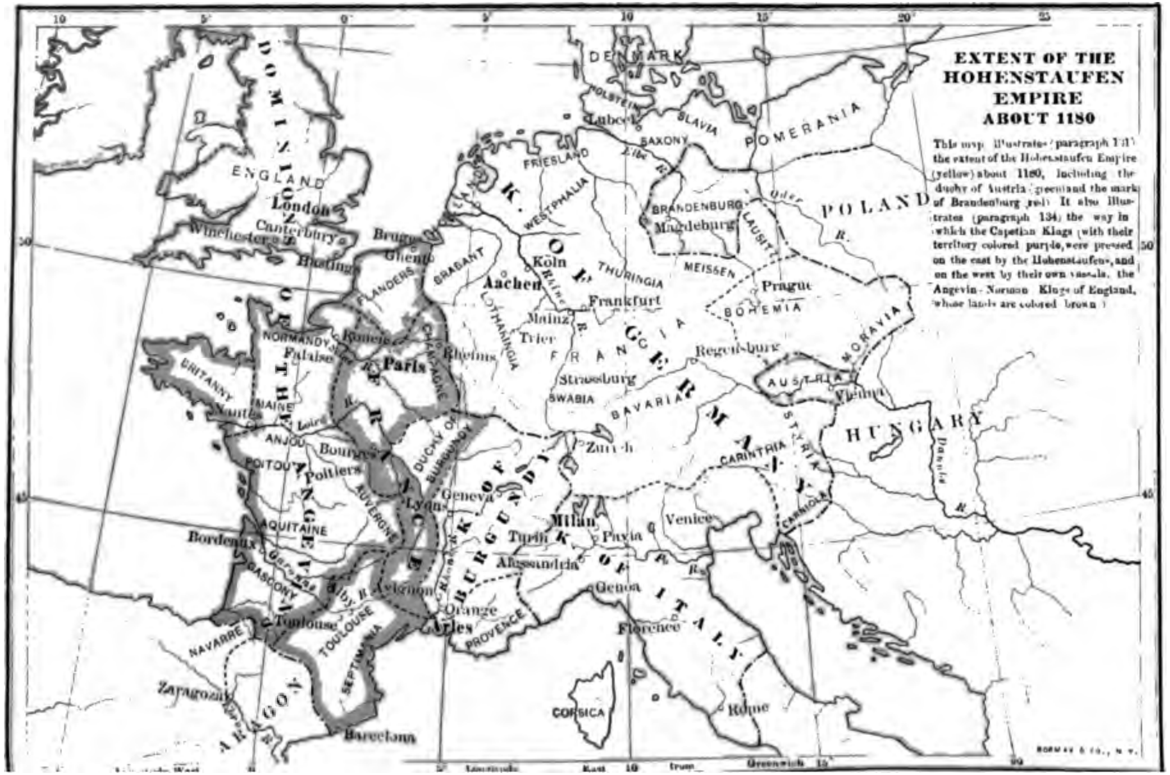
towns. In this way the charter of the little town of Lorris was granted to about three hundred others. The Norman-English kings gave a charter to Rouen, which they also copied for other towns throughout their domains on the Continent. Such a charter was often the means by which a lord sought to build up a town on his domain. He could open a market, promise valuable privileges to those who would come there to trade, and offer to protect any who settled in his town against all claims which might be made against them. Even serfs could secure their freedom by resorting thither, if their lords did not claim them within a year and a day. The Villeneuves or Newtowns of modern France are a reminder of this mode of town making.

131. Italian Cities. — The cities of northern Italy which had been the first to free themselves were also the first to be threatened with the loss of this freedom. They owed its successful defence to the struggle between the emperors and the papacy, and to the conflict in Germany between rivals for the crown. The Concordat of Worms had apparently settled the controversy about investiture, but the strife of rival claimants for the crown continued to break forth from time to time. There were also new lords that had to be reckoned with. The margrave of the Eastmark, or Austria, was now a duke, and the margrave of the old Northmark, or mark of Brandenburg, who was steadily driving the Slavs eastward, was strong enough to take part in the quarrels of the day. Henry the Proud, ancestor of the Guelph rulers of England, held both Saxony and Bavaria. After the conflict was settled and the Hohenstaufen Conrad was chosen king, interference in Italy was rendered impossible by a new crusade, upon which Conrad and Louis VII. of France were persuaded to go, in 1147, by the famous monk, Bernard of Clairvaux. The crusade was a dismal failure, and in 1152 Conrad died and was succeeded by his nephew, Frederick the Redbeard, or Barbarossa. Meantime the situation in Italy had become still more threatening to monarchical power. The desire for self-government spread

to Rome itself, and from 1143 for twelve years the Romans imagined they were about to act the part their ancestors had played hundreds of years before. Their enthusiasm was stirred by the preaching of Arnold of Brescia, who found the secret of the evils of the day in the worldly power wielded by churchmen. Most of the time during these years the pope was an exile.

132. Frederick I. and the Cities. — Two things were likely to help Frederick when he should find time to go into Italy. The first was that big towns like Milan tyrannized over their smaller neighbors and were hated accordingly. Another was that men, particularly in the great school at Bologna, were beginning to study more carefully the Roman law which Justinian had codified and to see how much better organized society had been when there was one uniform and reasonable rule for all, rather than many local customs or the will of some lord. This law also taught that emperors had certain well-defined rights, especially the appointment of officials and the collection of taxes. When Frederick descended into Italy, he readily hearkened to such teachings and formed a commission to draw up a list of imperial rights. He helped the pope to recover control of Rome in 1155, and turned over to him the revolutionist Arnold to be burned as a heretic. The pope, however, did not relish Frederick's own pretensions, and a bitter quarrel broke out between them two years later over their claims to superiority. This led the pope to become a zealous champion of city independence outside his own domain. Frederick retorted by setting up a rival pope. The cities formed a Lombard League. Milan, which the emperor had sought to destroy in 1162, rose from its ruins. Just at this moment his Guelph rivals were making so much trouble for him at home that he could not muster soldiers enough to conquer the League. He was decisively defeated at Legnano in 1176, and was obliged to reconcile himself with the pope and to leave to the cities the privileges of self-government which they had actually kept in their hands.





EXTENT OF THE HOHENSTAUFEN EMPIRE ABOUT 1180
This map illustrates (paragraph 131) the extent of the Hohenstaufen Empire (yellow) about 1180, including the duchy of Austria (green) and the mark of Brandenburg (red). It also illustrates (paragraph 134) the way in which the Capetian Kings (with their territory colored purple) were pressed on the east by the Hohenstaufens, and on the west by their own vassals, the Angevin-Norman Kings of England, whose lands are colored brown.
POLAND
HUNGARY
POMERANIA
DENMARK
SAXONY
BRANDENBURG
LAUSITZ
MEISSEN
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
AUSTRIA
STYRIA
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
BAVARIA
SWABIA
FRANCONIA
THURINGIA
WESTPHALIA
FRIESLAND
LOTHARINGIA
BRABANT
FLANDERS
CHAMPAGNE
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
NORMANDY
BRITANNY
MAINE
ANJOU
POITOU
AUVERGNE
AQUITAINE
GASCONY
TOULOUSE
SEPTIMANIA
NAVARRE
PROVENCE
CORSICA
ENGLAND
London
Canterbury
Paris
Aachen
Köln
Frankfurt
Mainz
Trier
Prague
Vienna
Venice
Milan
Pavia
Turin
Genoa
Florence
Rome
Geneva
Lyons
Arles
Bordeaux
Barcelona
Zaragoza

133. Frederick in Germany. — Upon the Guelphs Frederick took revenge by depriving them of all their fiefs save those about Brunswick, which in the distant future were to grow into the electorate of Hanover. This marked the end of the older division into duchies. Germany was henceforth divided in the manner usual in feudal lands. Frederick perished soon afterward in the Third Crusade. So glorious did he appear to the Germans of his day that for generations the common people were wont to say that he and his knights were only sleeping in a cave in the mountains, whence they would some day return to rule.

134. France hard-pressed, 1137–1180. — The triumph of the Lombard cities and of the pope helped the Capetian Louis at Paris, who more than once seemed about to be crushed between two such monarchs as Frederick Barbarossa and Henry, the Angevin-Norman king of England. Frederick made the control of the Empire over the old kingdom of Burgundy more than a name, and it seemed as if the influence of the Capetians could never cross the Meuse, the Saône, or the Rhone. The city of Lyons, now the second city of France, was more than ever a city of the Empire. On the west Henry pushed his territories to within forty miles of Paris. Fortunately for France, in the quarrels with the Church, Louis VII. had defended the cause of that pope who was to triumph. Churchmen, therefore, were ready to support him even when he had little real power. Moreover, men began to feel that there was a France, and now and then this new feeling of loyalty proved stronger than the feudal tie or even the vigorous measures of a king like Henry II.

135. Henry II. of England, 1154–1189. — Henry II. is generally thought of as a king of England who had territories in western France. There is good reason for this, although he was far more a Frenchman, of the Norman-Angevin stock, than an Englishman. There was no dwelling-place in England that he liked so well as some of the castles on the Loire. But he was too restless and energetic to remain long in one

place. He was almost ceaselessly on the march from the borders of Scotland to the Pyrenees. His courtiers rarely saw him seated except at table or on horseback. His work on the Continent is less remembered because it was a vain attempt to unite permanently under one rule peoples who wished to be independent of one another, — Englishmen, Normans, Angevins, and Aquitanians. Such a domain could hold together only so long as the king had power enough to compel obedience. In England the case was different. Even the Norman nobles had learned to think of themselves as Englishmen and to speak the English language. If Henry could bring peace to the country ruined by the civil war between his mother and King Stephen, and could keep the barons from plundering the people, he would become a real king of the whole country. This he did with characteristic vigor. Next he worked to improve the laws and to see that they were justly carried out. His grandfather had sent judges into the counties to try all cases in which the king's own rights were involved. The judges succeeded often in getting into their hands cases that really belonged to the manor courts of the lords or to the county courts. This was an advantage to the people under such a king, because it resulted in the spread of the same principles of law to all parts of the country. Henry also introduced a system by which guilty men were to be discovered by the inquiry of groups of men selected in the subdivisions of each county, a body something like our grand jury. The same plan was used to find out who owned property or what the ancient customs of a community were. Other measures led toward the formation of the petit jury. The sheriffs who had recently been controlled in many counties by the great lords became more distinctly the king's representatives.

136. Henry and the Church. — King Henry's chief trouble was with the Church, which by this time in England, as on the Continent, had built up a system of courts where were tried civil and criminal cases in which clergymen were involved. The Church claimed the right to settle all cases growing out of

marriages, of wills, and of contracts sanctioned by an oath, and cases which concerned widows, orphans, crusaders, and students. Moreover, as most offences against good order were also sins, it was hard to see where the Church would stop in its efforts to bring matters under its control. After consulting with his Great Council at Clarendon in 1164, Henry issued



CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

Here, east of the High Altar, Becket's shrine, or tomb, was erected. Until the Reformation it was a place of pilgrimage to which came thousands not only from England but also from Europe. It was despoiled by Henry VIII. Becket was murdered in one of the transepts of the cathedral.

the "Constitutions of Clarendon," which ordered that clergymen guilty of certain crimes should be tried and punished in the king's courts, that no one should appeal to the pope without royal consent, and that the Church should not excommunicate the king's vassals without his knowledge. It happened that the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas à Becket, bitterly opposed these decrees as contrary to the rights of the Church.

Although the king and the archbishop had once been close friends, a terrible quarrel broke out, which ended in the murder of the archbishop, in 1170, by some of the king's followers. Thomas was declared to be a saint, and the king was obliged to humiliate himself at his tomb, as well as to give up his "Constitutions." In the end Henry enforced his principles, and the attempt of the Church to crowd him out of his proper work failed. For one thing the Church was grateful to him, and this was the partial conquest of Ireland in 1171. His last days were embittered by conflicts with his sons and his wife. Louis of France had died, and Philip II., a vigorous young king, had already begun to turn the tide against the Angevin power.

SUMMARY

I. RISE OF THE PEOPLE.— 1. Their situation improved by (*a*) growth of custom and grant of written promises of privileges, (*b*) the interest nobles had in their prosperity, (*c*) the movement to establish peace, (*d*) the increasing importance of trade. 2. Their towns grow rich and strong: (*a*) relation of this prosperity to crusades; (*b*) towns which feel the revival first; (*c*) how townsmen became self-governing in Italy; (*d*) attitude of German and French kings toward towns; (*e*) how a French commune was created; (*f*) difference between a commune and a town with a charter of privileges; (*g*) Italian cities take advantage of rivalry of pope and emperor; (*h*) the Roman commune.

II. GERMANY, FRANCE, ENGLAND. — 1. Quarrels in Germany: (*a*) between ducal houses; (*b*) effect of these quarrels in hampering Frederick I. in his Italian campaigns; (*c*) Frederick's notion of his imperial rights in Italy; (*d*) combination by which he was defeated. 2. France: (*a*) dangerous neighbors, Frederick I. and Henry II.; (*b*) support of the Church; (*c*) growing sentiment of loyalty. 3. England, Henry II.: (*a*) efforts to hold his territory together; (*b*) as a lawgiver; (*c*) his conflict with the Church.

Special Point of View: —

The Church: 1. Influence in promoting peace. 2. Relation of bishops to town liberties. 3. Struggle with Frederick I. for control in Italy. 4. The Roman commune. 5. Conflict with Henry II. over jurisdiction of royal judges.

IMPORTANT DATES

Eleventh and twelfth centuries, rise of the cities.

1176. Battle of Legnano, defeat of Frederick I. in his struggle with the towns.

1180. Accession of Philip II. in France.

1189. Death of Henry II. of England.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: Stubbs, *Early Plantagenets;* Mrs. J. R. Green, *Henry II.;* Gibbins, *History of Commerce in Europe.*

PARAGRAPHS: —

123–132. The Towns: in general: Emerton, *Mediæval Europe*, Ch. 15; Adams, *Civilization*, Ch. 12; Cheyney, Ch. 3; Cunningham, Ch. 2; Commerce, Gibbins, 34–40.

125. Peace: Emerton, 568–571; for documents, see *Tr. and Rp.*, Vol. I., No. 2, pp. 6–9; Robinson, No. 90; Henderson, 208–215.

127. Arab Civilization: see **49**: Munro and Sellery, 224–239; Lane-Poole, Ch. 8; English Towns: Green, 92–95, 193–201; *Tr. and Rp.*, Vol. II., No. 1 (*English Towns and Gilds*); Kendall, No. 23 (Picture of London); Robinson, Nos. 161–165; Colby, 25–28.

129–130. French Towns: Jones, Nos. 8, 9 (*Rise of Cities* and *Trades in Paris*).

131. Second Crusade: Emerton, 374–376; Privileges of Crusaders, *Tr. and Rp.*, Vol. I., No. 2, pp. 9–10; Henderson, 333–336; Thatcher-McNeal, No. 284; Robinson, No. 129 (St. Bernard blamed for the disaster).

132. Frederick I. and the Pope: Emerton, 282–312; Alzog, II., 547–563; the principal documents are in Henderson, 410–430; Thatcher-McNeal, Nos. 98–109.

135–136. Henry II.: Macy, Ch. 12; longer in Stubbs; for the study of the legal development of England, see documents in Adams and Stephens, Nos. 12–20; a more general selection in Lee, Nos. 58–63; see also Kendall, Nos. 20, 21; Colby, No. 23.

Additional Reading: Ramsay, *Angevin Empire;* Balzani, *The Popes and the Hohenstaufen.*

CHAPTER IX.

THE RUIN OF THE EMPIRE: THE GROWTH OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE

137. Europe, 1180–1273. — The struggle for the supremacy of the Church, which Gregory VII. had begun in the controversy about investitures, was reopened in the twelfth century by the attempt of Frederick I. to establish imperial control over the Italian cities. A century later it led to the extinction of Frederick's family and the humiliation of the Empire. One consequence was that the centre of interest passed to England and France. These kingdoms were becoming better organized and stronger than the Empire. Their peoples began to have a part in general affairs. In the earlier days the townsmen had bought or won charters for their particular towns; now they felt that they should care also for the interests of the whole country. The kings saw the need of gaining the support of the towns as well as of compelling them to contribute greater sums in taxes.

138. The Early Career of Philip Augustus. — Philip II. became king of France in 1180, nine years before the death of Henry II. of England, his vassal for all western France. Since he was only fifteen years old, his uncles of the great Champagne family or their rival, the count of Flanders, hoped to manage his affairs. He soon taught them a lesson, for he was remarkably skilful in using one ambitious man to thwart the schemes of another. When the conflict was over, he had added several rich fiefs to the royal domain. He succeeded also in setting Henry's sons against their father and in strengthening his own influence in their lands. When Richard the



Lion-hearted became king, Philip grew cautious, for Richard loved a battle even more than he. Both had another reason why they should be at peace. Jerusalem had been captured in 1187 by Saladin, sultan of Egypt, and a Third Crusade had been proclaimed for its recovery. It would have been dishonorable for Philip and Richard to refuse their aid, and they agreed to go together. Frederick Barbarossa had preceded them, but was drowned in attempting to cross a river in Asia Minor. This Third Crusade was not so dismal a failure as the Second had been, for it was glorified by Richard's brilliant deeds of arms and by the chivalrous conduct of Saladin; but Jerusalem was not recaptured, and the Christians retained only a strip along the coast with the privilege of visiting Jerusalem as pilgrims. Long before it came to an end in 1192 Philip and Richard had quarrelled and Philip had hastened home to do his new enemy as much harm as possible in his absence. Richard, on his return, was captured and held for ransom thirteen months by the German emperor, Henry VI., the son of Frederick. Philip vainly tried to persuade Henry to keep Richard in prison, while he and Richard's brother John divided his lands between them.

139. Philip conquers Normandy and Anjou. — When Richard died in 1199 Philip's opportunity came. John was a match for him neither in war nor in negotiation. Moreover, John was so treacherous and wicked that nobody trusted him. It happened that John had a nephew, Arthur of Brittany, the son of John's elder brother, who had a good claim to all the inheritance. Philip first supported Arthur and then abandoned him, when he found it convenient to make peace with John. As soon as he thought the time had come for a final struggle, Philip found in John's oppression of several of his own vassals an excuse for reopening the quarrel. Philip as overlord summoned John to Paris to be judged by the barons, and when John did not appear declared his lands on the Continent confiscated. Again Arthur was Philip's ally. John captured Arthur and murdered him, but this only helped Philip by

arousing the indignation of all just men against the wicked king. The result was that in 1204 John lost all the lands north of the Loire and part of those south of it. The French royal domain was almost doubled in size, and no single nobleman was henceforward a dangerous rival. A little while afterward,



CHÂTEAU GAILLARD.

This Château Gaillard, "gay" or "saucy" castle, was built by Richard I. of England in 1197, to control the river Seine and the road from Paris into Normandy. It was placed on a chalk spur projecting from the plateau above. A masterpiece of mediæval engineering, it defied the attacks of Philip Augustus five months, although King John made no attempt to relieve it. Its capture was effected by taking successively the outworks which extended up the slope, toward the foreground of the picture. Dismantled by royal order in the seventeenth century.

when John had been excommunicated by Pope Innocent III., because he would not allow the pope's candidate to become archbishop of Canterbury, Innocent declared John deposed and offered the English crown to Philip. Philip actually hoped to turn the tables completely on the Angevin kings, but John parried the blow by making peace with the pope and promising to become his vassal for the whole kingdom of Eng-

land. John made a final attempt to stir up enemies against Philip and to recover the lost possessions, but in 1214 Philip won a great victory at Bouvines over the invading army, and John was forced to content himself with what remained to him south of the Loire.

140. The Great Charter. — John was distrusted by his English subjects as well as by the pope and by Philip. The final defeat of his allies at Bouvines gave the barons a chance to put an end to his tyrannies. In 1215 they compelled him to meet them at Runnymede, within sight of Windsor Castle, and sign Magna Charta, or the Great Charter. This Charter was mainly a confirmation of the rights or privileges which the king's vassals claimed as their heritage, but the rights conceded to them they were to concede to their tenants, so that all freemen were to be benefited. Moreover, some of the rights were later, and in a broader form, embodied in English law and became the heritage of Englishmen wherever they dwelt, whether in England or in America or in Australia. No free man was to be seized or imprisoned "except by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land." The known law was each man's bulwark even against the king, and whether a man had broken the law was to be decided by other men like himself and not by the king's officers. There was another promise made which might grow into the right of the taxed to decide what sums they should pay to the king. This declared that the king would not ask for any but the ordinary "aids" without the consent of all his barons in the "Great Council." As John was now the pope's friend, the pope denounced the barons as rebels, and declared that John was not bound to keep such a promise. The barons, supported by the citizens of London, paid no attention to the papal threats, and attempted to depose John for breaking his word, but his sudden death in 1216 put an end to the struggle.

141. The Albigensian Crusade, 1209. — Pope Innocent III., who had interfered in English affairs so much during John's reign, attempted everywhere to carry out the theory of Gregory

VII., that as God's representative on earth the pope was final judge in all great moral questions. His reign lasted from 1198 to 1216. He interfered in the affairs of France, of Germany, and of many of the smaller countries. In southern France two religious sects had arisen, — the Waldenses and the Albigenses. The Waldenses worshipped God much as do the Protestants now; but the Albigenses held strange notions about the world as a battle-ground between God and the Devil, believing that the only way to triumph over evil was to withdraw wholly from the gross life of the senses. Innocent was alarmed by the spread of such ideas and preached a crusade against the Albigensian heretics. The result was that a great army of northern barons and churchmen, zealous for the faith and eager for plunder, descended on the south, burned some of its fairest towns, and murdered thousands of men, women, and children. Innocent was troubled by these horrors and by the cruel covetousness of the conquerors. The leader of this army was Simon de Montfort. His reward was several of the richest fiefs in the south, taken from the possessions of the count of Toulouse, who was accused of protecting the heretics. It was the French king who finally profited by the war, because Simon's heir turned over his claims to the king. Another consequence was the creation of two great preaching orders of monks, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, who instead of shutting themselves in monasteries went about combating heresy by preaching and teaching. The punishment of heresy was made more prompt and severe by the establishment of a special court, called the Inquisition, for the trial of these cases.

142. The Fourth Crusade, 1202–1204. — Innocent was still less to be congratulated upon the exploits of another band of crusaders which he got together for the recovery of Jerusalem. This army was persuaded, chiefly by the Venetians, to attempt the restoration of an exiled prince to the throne of the Byzantine Empire. When this prince was unable to satisfy his greedy friends, they captured and sacked Constantinople. The



imperial territory also was divided among the conquerors. Venice obtained three-eighths, and a Latin Empire took the place of the old Greek Empire for a little over fifty years.

143. Ruin of the Empire. — Innocent had been saved from a serious quarrel with the Empire by the sudden death in 1197 of Henry VI., a dangerous antagonist who had married the heiress of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily and whose lands therefore hemmed in the papacy on the south as well as on the north. It was only after Innocent's death in 1216 that Henry's son, the brilliant Frederick II., became equally formidable. His stronghold was his Sicilian kingdom, where for the feudal way of governing he had substituted a more modern method, with officials, an army, and a navy paid for with money raised by taxation. In northern Italy he was more successful than his grandfather in managing the cities; but in Germany he did not venture to try such plans, for the nobles were constantly growing stronger. The popes, alarmed at his power and angered by his disobedience to their commands, determined to exterminate the entire Hohenstaufen family. They excommunicated him and his sons, preached crusade after crusade against them, and sought in the royal houses of England and France for rivals who might seize his lands. In the midst of the conflict Frederick died. Nearly twenty years later his grandson, Conradin, perished miserably at Naples, and his Sicilian kingdom passed into the hands of his executioner, Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX. of France. From Frederick's death in 1250 until 1273 the Empire was practically without a ruler, and the time is called the Great Interregnum.

144. Effect on the Church. — These conflicts between Empire and papacy were dangerous to both. The Church had grown up within the framework of the old Empire, and the bishop of Rome had claimed a jurisdiction as wide as that of the emperor. Christians, from St. Jerome's time, had been taught that the Empire must endure until the world itself was ended. Whatever crippled it would injure its counterpart, the papacy. The

only gainers would be the western kings, who were inclined to deny the superiority of the emperors, and who did not hesitate to resist the pope's attempts to interfere in the affairs of their own kingdoms. A time might come when national churches would break away from papal rule much as nations had already become independent of the emperor.

145. End of the Crusades. — Meanwhile the crusades, in which the popes had appeared marshalling a united Christendom, had come to an inglorious conclusion. Frederick II. had made a treaty by which Jerusalem, with a small strip along the coast, was surrendered to him for ten years; but the city, in 1244, again passed into the hands of the Egyptian sultan, and soon afterward the petty Christian principalities were also obliged to give up the contest. Louis IX. of France attempted to restore the fortunes of the war by attacks on Egypt, in 1249, and upon Tunis, in 1270; but the first led to his capture, and in the second he perished of the plague. The struggle was maintained for a time from the islands of Rhodes and Cyprus by bands of military monks, like the Hospitallers and the Templars. The Teutonic Knights, a similar order, sought, after 1226, another field of warfare for the Church in the lands of the pagan Prussians. What the Knights conquered German farmers occupied, so that the southeastern shores of the Baltic have remained German to this day.

146. St. Louis, 1226–1270. — In Philip II., called Augustus, France had a king who was a ruler as well as a conqueror. In earlier days the kings had in their principal towns provosts, who looked out for their own interests quite as much as for royal rights. Partly to control them, partly to manage effectively the domain, now more than double what it had been, Philip appointed bailiffs and seneschals over districts large enough to include several provostships, and held them all to strict account. He was a man to make the royal power dreaded rather than loved or revered. It was his grandson, Louis IX., or St. Louis, as he is ordinarily called, who made the monarchy sacred in the eyes of the people, because, above

all things, he prized justice. He was so anxious to be just that he even abandoned some of the lands which his less scrupulous grandfather had taken from his English vassal south of the Loire. When he was sure that his cause was just, he did not hesitate to strike hard blows in its defence. Though a devoted churchman, he stoutly resisted the attempts of the popes, in the midst of their struggle with Frederick II., to exact money from the French clergy. Later he ceased to oppose papal taxation, because he wished the pope's aid in compelling the clergy to contribute for his crusades. He sought to put an end



A Fight between Armed and Mounted Knights of the Time of Henry III.

to neighborhood wars between the nobles and to bring their disputes before his courts. Among the people he was best remembered as sitting at the foot of an oak, in his forest of Vincennes, administering justice to all, rich and poor, great barons or defenceless citizens.

147. Misrule in England, Henry III., 1216–1272. — In England there was no St. Louis to protect the rights of the people and to give just judgments to all. The king, Henry III., son of John, was a weak man, who allowed the country to be overrun with papal collectors, and permitted the pope to appoint many Italians and other foreigners to positions in the English

Church. But the promises made in the Charter had not been forgotten by the barons and the people. The leader of the barons was Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, son of that Simon de Montfort who had led the crusaders against the Albigenses. Edward, the king's son, tried to weaken the barons by showing that they were anxious to have their own privileges respected, while they cared very little for the rest of the nation. Simon, after he had defeated the king and his son at Lewes, in 1264, sought to obtain support from all classes of people by convening a great council in which all should appear or be represented. It will be remembered that Henry II. had used the plan of having men selected in each county to declare who were criminals, as well as who owned property, or what the ancient customs of a community were. It was easy to carry this method a little farther, and to summon representatives of the counties or of the towns to say how much these could pay toward the public expenses, or to approve decisions which the king or some leader like Simon had made. The great council of the barons had meanwhile received the name of parlement, or parliament, as it is now spelled, a word which suggests speaking. When Simon called a parliament in 1265, he summoned not only the barons of his party personally, but directed that four knights be sent from each county and two representatives from certain towns. Although this body was called a parliament, and although it contained representatives of all the classes now represented in an English parliament, it was not asked to make laws or to argue about governmental expenses. Its business was to agree to what Simon had already thought best to do. He was speedily overthrown, but the example he had set was not forgotten.

148. Edward I., 1272–1309, and Parliament. — Fortunately, when the weak Henry was dead he was succeeded by his son Edward, who was anxious to win back the confidence which the people had felt in Henry II. in the days before the misrule of his sons and of his grandson. At first Edward generally asked money from assemblies of the barons and clergy,



or from towns, rather than from parliaments like Simon de Montfort's. This was a dangerous practice, for only by insisting that he must deal with all classes in a general parliament was the nation likely to check the old tyrannies. Separate assemblies could be played off against one another. In 1295 a great danger threatened the king and forced him to seek the support of the whole country. There had been a dispute in Scotland about the kingship. Edward had decided it in favor of Balliol, a member of the Scottish royal house; but he seized the opportunity to turn certain vague rights of lordship over Scotland into actual control. The Scots had no mind to be treated in this way; they revolted, and made a treaty with Edward's enemy, Philip IV. of France. To gain strength for the contest Edward called together a parliament which has been named the Model Parliament, because it had representatives of all classes of men, — the barons, bishops, and abbots, knights representing the counties, and two citizens from each of the towns. This did not mean that Edward gave up all idea of obtaining money from groups of his subjects without asking parliament, for he attempted it the following year. The grumbling and open resistance which he found compelled him to promise another parliament that he would not demand taxes which it had not granted. As Edward was an honest king, such a promise meant more than it would have from some kings. After this, English kings occasionally took money from their subjects without asking parliament; but it became more and more dangerous to do so because the right of parliament was steadily maintained by barons, clergy, and towns. Edward's treatment of the Scots was a failure. They soon recovered their independence, under Robert Bruce, like Balliol a descendant of the old royal house. Edward was more successful with the Welsh, whom he conquered and whose allegiance he won by granting them wise laws and by presenting his son to them as Prince of Wales.

149. Philip IV. of France, 1285–1314. — Philip IV. of France, with whom Edward often quarrelled, was a grandson

of St. Louis, but he did not inherit any great love of justice. He meant to make his law supreme. This was not altogether bad in a country where the nobles were frequently lawless and oppressive. The French royal courts, like the English courts, grew out of the king's council of barons or of clergy. Curiously enough they came to be called "parlements," while in England this name was gradually affixed to the assembly of the barons, the clergy, and the citizens.

150. France and the Papacy. — In Philip's reign it became clear that the death of the German Hohenstaufens had by no means established the superiority of the popes over kings, for Philip became a far more dangerous antagonist than Frederick II. had been. When the war broke out between Philip and Edward, both kings wished to tax their clergy as well as their other subjects. In England and France the clergy refused, because Pope Boniface VIII. had, in 1296, issued a papal bull or decree that clergymen were not to pay taxes to princes without permission from the pope. Edward immediately declared that if the clergy would pay no taxes, they should not be protected in his courts, and that any one who maltreated them or seized their property would go unpunished. This brought them to terms at once. Philip chose a method quite as effective. He forbade any gold or silver to be sent from France into Italy. This bore hard upon the papal treasury, since it collected heavy taxes from the French clergy. Boniface was obliged to yield and to allow the king to take money from the clergy in case of great need, which meant any time that Philip wanted it badly.

151. The States General. — A few years afterward, in 1302, the quarrel broke out again more fiercely. Philip now did just what Edward had done a few years before when he found himself in danger: he gathered his barons, clergy, and citizens from the towns about him in what were called the "estates" or "states general." The clergy were deemed the first "estate" or social class, the nobles the second, and the townsmen now formed a third. The meeting of 1302 was probably not



the first assembly of this kind in France, but it was more notable, and has been taken as the beginning of the states general. Still less than the English parliament was it called together to give advice; it was simply to approve what the king had decided upon, in order that his letters to the pope might have greater weight. Instead of yielding, the pope published a new bull, in which he declared that the superiority of the pope, as God's vicar, over princes was a doctrine of the Church, to disbelieve which imperilled a man's salvation.

152. The Papacy Humiliated. — Philip's lawyers persuaded him to appeal from Boniface to a general council of the Church. Meanwhile one of them went into Italy, joined the pope's personal enemies, and attacked him in his own town, planning to carry him off to France. This plot failed, but the pope died shortly after of chagrin. Two years later a pope was elected who was thoroughly under French influence and who, in 1309, took up his residence at Avignon on the eastern borders of France. Avignon remained the papal residence until 1377, and this period of nearly seventy years is called the Babylonian captivity of the Church.

153. The Templars. — The pope was not the only person who suffered from the violence of Philip's rule. The crusades had ended and the Templars, a military order which had been organized in Palestine, had made their headquarters in France, where they possessed great estates. As they were rich, they were accused by the envious of heinous crimes. Philip's advisers took advantage of these rumors. The members of the order were all arrested in 1307, and many of them were condemned and burnt as sorcerers and heretics. Their riches went to the king. In this affair Philip had compelled the pope to assist him in procuring the formal dissolution of the order. It was evident that although the Hohenstaufen emperors had been destroyed, the papacy had not yet realized the dream of Gregory VII.

SUMMARY

I. GOVERNMENT. — 1. Consequences of strong rule in France: (*a*) territorial gains under Philip II.; (*b*) establishment of control in south after Albigensian crusade; (*c*) king regarded more and more as fountain of justice after Louis IX.; (*d*) Philip IV. organizes courts; (*e*) Philip IV., backed by states general, triumphs over the papacy. 2. Results of misrule in England: (*a*) territorial losses in western France; (*b*) efforts through Magna Charta to check royal tyranny; (*c*) revolt of barons under Simon de Montfort, beginnings of parliament; (*d*) insistence that even a wise king like Edward I. shall have subsidies only by grant of parliament. 3. Comparison of English and French situations: (*a*) need in France, strong power to keep the nobles from bringing back feudal anarchy; (*b*) need in England of union between barons and townsmen to control king and guard against misrule; (*c*) similar institutions, courts, representative bodies like parliament and states general. 4. Germany ruined by entanglements in Italy: (*a*) consequences of the marriage of Henry VI. and the heiress of Sicily; (*b*) struggle of Frederick II. against the popes; (*c*) the Great Interregnum.

II. END OF CRUSADES. — (*a*) effects of the rivalry of Philip II. and Richard I. on success of Third; (*b*) object of Fourth and its results; (*c*) character of Albigensian crusade; (*d*) agreement made by Frederick II.; (*e*) attempts of St. Louis; (*f*) general results.

Special Review: relations of papacy and empire between 1073 and 1268.

IMPORTANT DATES

1204. Conquest by Philip II., of France, of Normandy and Anjou; Fourth Crusade.
1215. The Great Charter of England.
1265. Simon de Montfort's parliament.
1270. Death of Louis IX.
1295. Edward I. calls the Model Parliament.
1302. Philip IV. summons the states general.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: Lodge, *End of the Middle Ages;* Hutton, ***Philip Augustus;*** Perry, *St. Louis;* Creighton, ***Simon de Montfort;*** Tout, *Edward I.;* Frazer, ***English History illustrated from Original Sources,*** 1307–1399; Hill, ***Liberty Documents.***



PARAGRAPHS:—

138. Philip II.: Adams, *Growth of the French Nation*, pp. 81–88; see selections in Robinson, No. 94; Colby, No. 27; for the Third Crusade, see Archer's *Crusade of Richard I.*, containing many selections from contemporary writings; Thatcher-McNeal, No. 285.

139. Conquest of Normandy: a contemporary account in Robinson, 94 *a*, the capture of the Château Gaillard, the most interesting incident. See Kitchin, I., 296–304.

140. The Great Charter: Green, 122–132; Macy, Ch. 13; Roger Wendover's account of the struggle, in Kendall, pp. 72–78; briefer in Robinson, No. 99; see also Hill, Ch. 2; Colby, 29; text of Charter, in *Tr. and Rp.*, Vol. I., No. 6; Adams and Stephens, Henderson; principal provisions in Robinson, No. 110.

142. Fourth Crusade: selections from Ville-Hardouin and other contemporaries in *Tr. and Rp.*, Vol. III., No. 1. For the history of the crusade see Pears.

143, 144. Ruin of the Empire and its effect upon the Church: see particularly Bryce, Ch. 13; Emerton, 350–356; documents in Thatcher-McNeal, Nos. 134–145.

145. Results of the Crusades: Munro and Sellery, 248–256.

146. St. Louis: Joinville's life, in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, also published separately; selections in Robinson, No. 95; Munro and Sellery, 366–375. For the development of France, see Emerton, *Mediæval Europe*, Ch. 12, and Adams, *Civilization*, Ch. 13.

147. Misrule in England: Gardiner, 193–204; selections from contemporary writings, in W. H. Hutton's *Misrule of Henry III.*, and in J. Hutton's *Simon de Montfort and his Cause;* more briefly in Kendall, Nos. 25–27. See also Creighton.

148. The Model Parliament: Macy, 176–181; Tout, *Edward the First;* specimen writs of summons in all the source books; Scotland, Hume Brown, I., 133 ff.; wars with the Scots, Frazer, Nos. 5–8, 19–21, 23–25.

149–152. Philip IV. and Pope Boniface: Kitchin, I., 364–393; the papal bulls are in Henderson, pp. 432–437, *Tr. and Rp.*, Vol. III., No. 6; Thatcher-McNeal, Nos. 162, 164.

153. The Templars: Guizot, II., 190–196.

Additional Reading: Pears, *Fall of Constantinople;* Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, Vol. I.

CHAPTER X.

WARS OF NATIONS AND RACES: THE CRY OF REFORM IN THE CHURCH

154. Two Centuries of Conflict. — Hardly had the new kingdoms begun to be better organized than they were involved in terrible struggles with one another or with Asiatic invaders that pressed into Europe across the ruins of the old Greek Empire. In the confusion the larger interests of Christendom suffered. The German Empire became a weak confederation. The papacy was dragged down from the majestic position it had occupied under Gregory VII. or Innocent III. Conflicts began to rage within the Church and the consciences of good churchmen were sorely vexed in the midst of discordant cries, sinister warnings of the greater divisions which were to come later.

155. The Hapsburgs, 1273–1453. — In the Holy Roman Empire the Great Interregnum was brought to an end in 1273 by the choice as emperor of Rudolph, count of Hapsburg. Not long afterward he took Austria from the king of Bohemia. From this time forth his family became associated with Austria, although it was still called the House of Hapsburg. It was not always equally fortunate in attempting to extend its domains. It was twice disastrously defeated by the Swiss cantons, at Morgarten in 1315 and at Sempach in 1386, which thus laid the foundations of their independence. About this struggle cluster the legends of William Tell.

156. The Imperial Electors. — Although after a time the emperors were usually chosen from the House of Hapsburg, at first the crown passed from Hapsburg to Nassau, back to



Hapsburg, next to Luxemburg, then to Bavaria, and again to Luxemburg. This was partly due to the efforts of the German princes to give the crown to some one who was ready to make them liberal promises at the expense of imperial rights. These princes came to be called electors. There were seven of them: the three archbishops of Mainz, Treves, and Köln or Cologne, the count palatine, the king of Bohemia, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the duke of Saxony. Although these men did not intend to grant the reigning emperor much power, they were ready to defend his dignity against papal attacks. When in 1338 Louis of Bavaria was almost ready to humble himself in any way the pope wished, if only the pope would acknowledge his title, the electors drew up a declaration that the choice of the emperor rested with them and that this choice needed no confirmation by the pope or anybody else. Their control of elections was expressly confirmed in a charter or Golden Bull, issued by Charles IV. in 1356, and which, with some changes, remained the law of imperial elections until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Golden Bull also made the electoral princes practically sovereign within their own domains. Thus while the royal power was gaining victories in France over the feudal lords, the German nobles were transforming themselves into independent rulers.

157. The Cities of the Empire. — During the same time many of the German cities were freed from direct rule either by the emperor or by the great lords. They were more independent than the French communes; for the French lawyers understood that by the grant of a communal charter a city became the king's whether it had been his before or had belonged to one of his vassals. In order to render their trade safe from sea-rovers or plundering barons, the cities united in leagues like the Swabian League and the Hanseatic League. In its best days the Hanseatic League numbered over seventy towns, and its ships carried all the trade of the north. Its "Steelyard" or colony, at London was one of the greatest centres of English commerce. In Italy, also, the Empire had practically lost its

power. The cities had been left to themselves. Since they no longer had common liberties to fight for, they quarrelled with one another. Gradually they fell into the hands of their most ambitious citizens, and, like Venice and Genoa, became what



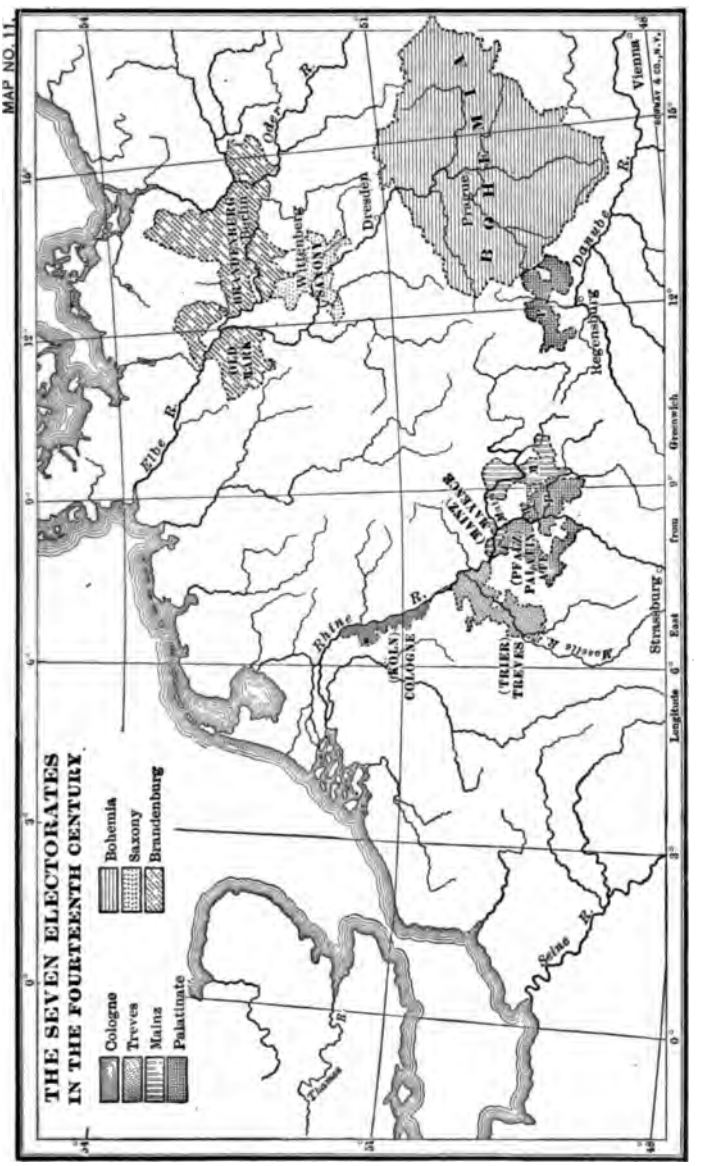
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LÜBECK.

The Holstenthor, one of the mediæval gates of Lübeck, the capital of the Hanseatic League.

are called oligarchic republics, or, like Milan, were ruled by military adventurers whom they had called in to fight against their neighbors.

158. The Salic Law. — After the death of Philip IV., in 1314, it seemed as if the French monarchy also might be ruined by quarrels over the succession to the crown, for each of Philip's three sons had only daughters. When the oldest died the second brother got himself made king, excluding his niece from


MAP NO. 11
THE SEVEN ELECTORATES
IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY
Cologne
Treves
Mainz
Palatinate
Bohemia
Saxony
Brandenburg
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Rhine R.
Moselle R.
Seine R.
Danube R.
Prague
Dresden
Wittenberg
Regensburg
Vienna
Strasbourg
Longitude 0° East from 9° Greenwich
(COLN) COLOGNE
(TRIER) TREVES
(PFALZ) PALATINATE
(MAINZ) MAYENCE
BOHEMIA
SAXONY
BRANDENBURG

the throne. A few years afterward the third brother did the same thing. When he died in 1328, there were the daughters of the three brothers living, as well as a sister's son, Edward III., who had become king of England the year before. There was also a cousin, Philip of Valois. Philip did just what his cousins had done before: he seized the crown and left the lawyers to discover a reason why women could not inherit the French crown, nor even men whose only title was received from their mothers. Eventually the lawyers brought forward a reason which they called the Salic Law, although the real Salic Law or law of the Salian Franks had merely declared that no woman could inherit Salic or Frankish land. Since women could inherit fiefs there was no reason why they should not inherit the crown, except the political reason that through marriage they might transfer the crown to some foreign prince. From this time forward the French crown was handed down in the male line.



VINCENNES.

The donjon of the château of Vincennes, situated a short distance east of the walls of Paris, begun by Philip VI. This great tower is 170 feet high, its walls are 10 feet thick, and the moat is 40 feet deep.

159. The Hundred Years' War. — Edward III. did not at first seek to make good his claim to the French crown. There were other grounds for a quarrel, disputes about Guyenne, the fief which Edward held of Philip, and troubles in the wool trade between Flanders and England. English wool was necessary for the Flemish weavers. In order to harass Philip, Edward, in 1336, cut off the supply of wool. The Flemings were ruined if their relations with England were broken off. Under Van Artevelde they urged Edward to assume the title



king of France and take the crown away from Philip. The war that followed is called the Hundred Years' War, because it did not end until 1453, when the English were driven from all the Continent save from the town of Calais. There were intervals of peace, but as the causes of war remained the fighting soon began again. In this war cannon were used probably for the first time in Europe. The English longbow was the most effective weapon, and the English yeomen were so skilful in shooting that in the three most famous battles they were victorious over armies much larger than their own. The first of these battles was at Crécy in 1346, where the English were commanded by Edward III., and where his oldest son, the Black Prince, won his spurs. Ten years later at Poitiers this same prince defeated the French army under King John, Philip's son, and took the king prisoner. The sufferings of France during these wars were terrible. Roving bands of soldiers plundered the country and murdered the peasants. Whole districts were turned into deserts. Just at this time, also, Europe, from Italy to England, was swept by a frightful pestilence called the Black Death. The contagion was brought from the East to the Italian ports and to the ports of southern France in 1347. It gradually spread northward, sometimes destroying whole villages and thousands in the towns. From one-third to one-half of the population of France and England perished.

160. Paris and the Peasants. — After the battle of Poitiers the peasants and the townsmen were in an ugly mood. The townsmen declared that the lords were unfit to fight the battles of the country, that the states general of the north must help the king manage his affairs by appointing a council and by dismissing worthless officers. The states general must also see that the money which they raised be spent on the war and not upon the king's friends and their pleasures. The leader of these reformers was Etienne Marcel, a draper, and provost of the merchants. For two years after 1356 the states general met frequently and seemed able to compel the dauphin, the

king's son, — for the king was a prisoner, — to do what they wished. In the midst of these troubles the long-suffering peasants north and west of Paris, driven to madness by the plundering soldiers and the scarcely less ruthless lords, rose and took vengeance on their enemies. As the ordinary peasant was nicknamed Jacques Bonhomme, this insurrection was called the Jacquerie. The peasants burnt and plundered castles, but killed very few persons, although their wandering bands frightened the nobles into the walled towns. For a time it seemed as if Paris and the "Jacques" would form a league, but soon the nobles recovered their courage and murdered the peasants by thousands. Marcel's friends and supporters began to decrease. His enemies declared he was ready to betray the city to the English and soon afterward murdered him. In 1360 peace was made at Brétigny. Although Edward gave up his claim to the French crown, he was to hold many fiefs south, and a few north, of the Loire entirely free from any duties of vassalage toward the French king.

161. Revolt of English Peasants. — The English people did not suffer directly from the ravages of the war, but they had to pay its expenses, and when war was renewed, after the treaty of Brétigny, the government was forced to invent new taxes, which touched peasant as well as landowners or townsmen. The Black Death also led to troubles between the peasants and the lords. In the first place the income of the lords had been decreased because whole families of peasants had disappeared and there was no one to do the customary work or to pay the sums ordinarily collected. Mills were either idle or could not pay as much rent as before. Again, as the lord had agreed with many of the peasants to accept money in place of the work which their ancestors had been obliged to do each week, he found that this money did not hire as many laborers as formerly, especially because the laborers, seeing that they were few in number, demanded higher wages. To save themselves, the landowners in parliament obtained of the king a law which should compel the laborers to work at the

old wages. Apparently it was not obeyed, for it was often repeated. Such laws angered the peasants, who had no representatives in parliament. Their anger increased when the poll-tax was decided upon in 1379. Strange ideas were passing through people's minds. Many of them asked, like John Ball, the strolling preacher, —

> " When Adam delved and Eve span,
> Who, then, was the gentleman ? "

Two years later an insurrection, much like the Jacquerie, broke out in England. It has been called the Peasants' Revolt. Partly because they hated the king's advisers, partly because they desired to be rid of serfdom or to destroy the records of what they owed the lords, the peasants attacked monasteries and castles, or marched upon London. For a time they were successful, but afterward they were dispersed by the king's officers, and many of them were put to death. Although they had gained nothing, the custom of replacing services with money payments gradually improved their position until they rose to that of freemen.

162. The Church. — As if the Hundred Years' War, the Black Death, and the revolt of the peasants were not troubles enough, the Church was rent into warring factions. In many places the priests and monks had fallen away from the ideal which the Cluny reformers and Gregory VII. had set before them. So far as France was concerned, the principal reason was the great war with England, which ruined the country, reducing priests to beggary and making it impossible for many of the monasteries to support their monks. It was not strange that often here and there the clergy became as rude and ignorant as the lowest of their parishioners. Such evils might have been vigorously repressed had the bishops done their duty, but many of them no longer resided within their dioceses. The war offered an excuse for this: first, because it was dangerous for a bishop, faithful to either the French or the English party, to reside within territory held by the other; and second,

because the revenue of a single bishopric or abbey had so decreased that it no longer was sufficient to support the abbot or the bishop. But these were not the only reasons, nor did they explain similar evils which existed elsewhere. Ambitious clergymen were eager to increase their power and wealth by holding several offices at once. A certain cardinal, who resided in Italy, and who held several bishoprics there, had also in France three bishoprics, one archbishopric, and was abbot or prior of six monasteries. These evils of non-residence and pluralities could not have been so prevalent had not princes, and even the popes, attempted to obtain supporters in their conflicts by granting such privileges.

163. The Papal Power.— With the outcry over such evils were mingled protests against the efforts of the popes to make their control over the Church in different lands more thoroughgoing, and to create at Rome a court which should be the actual capital of Church administration. In their struggle with the emperors they had partially succeeded in freeing the elections of bishops and abbots from the interference of princes. As the election of the pope had been put into the hands of the cardinals, so the election of bishops was intrusted to the canons of each cathedral. But by the middle of the thirteenth century the popes had begun to take from the canons this very right, claiming the privilege of providing the vacant see with an incumbent, or of reserving sees not yet vacant to be filled by their appointment. The same claim was made upon various abbeys and upon many minor offices in each diocese. The method was called papal "reservations" and "provisions." In England the attempt to gain the right of appointment in this way was partially thwarted by the Statute of Provisors, passed during Edward III.'s reign and reënacted in 1390. Another grievance, felt especially by princes, was the practice of carrying from their courts to the pope cases in which the rights of churchmen or Church appointments were involved, making the Roman court a supreme court of appeal in many important matters. This the English sought to check by the Statute of Præmunire.

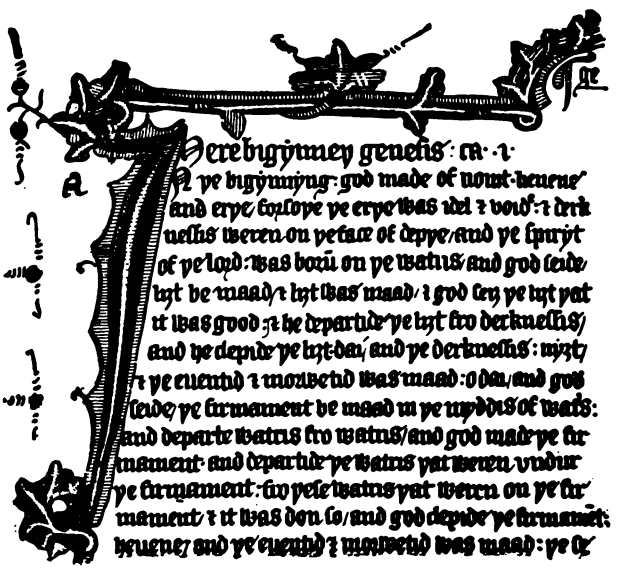


164. Papal Taxation. — The extension of the papal administrative and judicial system necessitated increasing expenditures. The pope, no more than other princes, could be expected to live from the revenues of his own domains. Like them he began to levy taxes, but with this difference — that these fell upon the clergy everywhere rather than upon his own subjects in the States of the Church. The most obnoxious tax was the annat or one year's revenue of a bishopric or abbey when a vacancy was filled. This was much like the feudal relief which the lords were obliged to pay when they entered upon a fief left them by a relative. As bishops and abbots were often mature men and served only a short time, the tax must be paid frequently and was considered a great burden.

165. The Schism and Wycliffe. — The situation in the Church was rendered tragically serious by the Great Schism which began in 1378. This was a disputed papal election. For many years there was one pope at Rome and another at Avignon, each denouncing the other as Antichrist and preaching a crusade against him. The English king refused to recognize the pope at Avignon because he was defended by the king of France. Other peoples also took sides in the quarrel, and all men's consciences were troubled. John Wycliffe, a teacher at the university of Oxford, thinking much upon the ills from which the Church was suffering, came to the conclusion that many of the claims made by the pope were wrong. He studied the Bible carefully and refused to accept teachings for which he could find no warrant there. In order that the people might read the Bible he and his friends translated it into English. He had no intention to withdraw from the Church, but he sent his Oxford scholars through the country teaching what he believed to be true Christianity. His followers were called Lollards, and a few years later the government threatened with death any who taught such doctrines.

166. The Hundred Years' War again. — In the second period of the Hundred Years' War, the French recovered part of the lands which had been lost at the peace of Brétigny. They had

been taught by the disasters of Crécy and Poitiers to avoid great battles, to shut themselves within strong castles and walled towns, and to allow the English to march unopposed through the open country. Under bold leaders like Du Guesclin they cut off stragglers and laid siege to places held by the English. Before the dauphin, now become Charles the Wise,



Wycliffe's Bible.

Facsimile of first verses of Genesis, translated by Nicholas Hereford under Wycliffe's direction. Wycliffe translated only a part of the Old Testament and the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark in the New Testament. The remainder was done under his direction. It was completed in 1383–1384.

was dead in 1380, they had won from the English all save four or five coast towns. After this both countries were too much occupied with the strife of factions at home to carry on the war effectively. Edward's son, Richard II., was tyrannical and unpopular. He was deposed and murdered by Henry IV., lately duke of Lancaster, and a grandson of Edward. The French king, Charles VI., the son of Charles the Wise, became



insane, and the government fell into the hands of his uncles. After a while a furious quarrel between his brother, the duke of Orleans, and his cousin, the duke of Burgundy, led to civil war. Both the duke of Orleans and the duke of Burgundy were murdered. The English king, Henry V., had seized the occasion to invade the country and in 1415 had gained another crushing victory at Agincourt. The new duke of Burgundy, believing that the king's son had had a hand in the murder of the late duke, went over to the English side. With his aid King Henry obtained possession of the poor mad king and made with him the Treaty of Troyes in 1420, according to which Henry was to marry Charles's daughter, and was to succeed him as king of France. Shortly afterward both Henry and Charles died. Henry left an infant son, Henry VI., and the French people did not know whether to submit to him or to be loyal to the Dauphin Charles. Nearly all the country north of the Loire was in the hands either of the English or the Burgundians. Unfortunately Charles lacked energy, and, instead of fighting for his kingdom, wasted his days among his favorites at the castle of Chinon. Here and there brave men wrested from the English places which were thought secure; but such deeds seemed vain, because there was no leader to unite all loyal men against the invader.

167. Jeanne d'Arc. — In 1429 even the lands south of the Loire were in peril. An English army had laid siege to Orleans, and the town was threatened with famine. Orleans was saved, because at last a leader appeared, — Jeanne d'Arc, a peasant girl, scarcely nineteen years old. She was a native of Domrémy, a village on the borders of Lorraine. Troubled by the miseries of the people, Jeanne believed that God had commanded her to save Orleans and to conduct the dauphin to Rheims to be crowned as Charles VII. When she first told her story, the rough soldiers laughed her to scorn, but the common people gladly welcomed her, believing that God had not abandoned them. She was sent to the dauphin, and he finally permitted an army to go with her to raise the siege of Orleans.

The English were frightened at her approach, for they thought her a sorceress. Her presence and eager faith breathed a new enthusiasm into the French soldiers, and they forced the English to retreat. Jeanne conducted the dauphin to Rheims, where he was crowned. He and his advisers were loath to be saved in this fashion, and when Jeanne was captured in a skirmish north of Paris he did nothing to ransom her. The English, enraged by their defeats, were resolved to put her to death as a heretic. At their command learned churchmen tried her at Rouen, and there in 1431 she was burned at the stake. This did not help the English cause. Even the duke of Burgundy forsook them. In 1453, when the war ended, nothing was left to them in France except the town of Calais.



LA TOUR JEANNE D'ARC.

The donjon of the castle of Bouvreuil, built by Philip Augustus after the conquest of Normandy in 1204. Here Jeanne d'Arc was imprisoned.

168. The Pope and the Council. — The Great Schism had not been healed until after 1415. Some theologians had urged that the remedy was a general council, a kind of convention of the whole Church, for to its decision even the popes must bow. The first attempt to apply this remedy made matters still worse, because the council ordered a new pope elected before the two existing popes had agreed to withdraw, so that there were three popes instead of two. A more determined effort was made by the council of Constance which was in



session from 1414 to 1418. It brought the Schism to an end, but in its attempt to reform the Church in "head and members," that is, the papacy as well as the clergy and people, it undertook to prove that its decisions were superior to those of the pope. If the council had established such a claim, councils would have become in the Church what parliaments were in England, representative assemblies which must be consulted upon every important occasion. The council had no fondness for other novelties. It sent to the stake John Huss, a popular Bohemian preacher and theologian who had taught several of Wycliffe's views and had denounced the evil conduct of the clergy.

169. Popes and Princes. — Since neither the council of Constance nor the council of Basel, which followed it, succeeded in reforming the Church, there was little hope of betterment unless the rulers took up the matter. England had already protected its rights by the statutes of Provisors and of Præmunire. In 1438 Charles VII. of France accomplished the same thing for France by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, restoring to the canons of the cathedral the right to choose the bishops, and forbidding the payment of annats. The German princes were not so successful. By the treaty or concordat of Vienna ten years later they conceded to the pope nearly all that he asked. The cry for reform was unheeded. When it was raised again, a little over a half-century later, it was transformed into a call to revolution.

170. The East. — While the West was troubled by wars and disputes, great changes were making in the East. Poland by its reunion with the duchy of Lithuania in 1386 ruled over territories from the Oder to the Dnieper, and as far south as the Black Sea. The Mongols did not loosen their hold upon the Russians until a century later, but under their shadow a new Russian monarchy was founded, with Moscow as a centre. This region, called Muscovy, was extended gradually, and, like the royal domain of the Capetians, came to include the great Russian fiefs. In southeastern Europe the Bulgarian kingdom

had sometimes gained territory at the expense of the Greek Empire and again had been forced to draw back. At its greatest it included part of Macedonia, which is still a bone of contention between modern Greeks and Bulgarians. It was overrun by a new horde of invaders whose domination was to be far more lasting than that of the Mongols.

171. The Turks. — These invaders were the Ottoman Turks. They were originally a band of nomads which had entered the service of the Seljuk Turks to fight against the Mongols. They received their name from the emir Othman, who had carved out a domain for his peoples on the borders of the Greek Empire in Asia Minor. It was in Othman's day that they had been converted to Mohammedanism, and they fought for their new religion with the same sort of zeal that Chlodwig and his sons showed for the Christian faith. As the Ottomans grew in power they gathered new recruits from all the peoples with which they came into contact, — Greeks, Slavs, Albanians, Rumanians, and Magyars. The Mohammedan religion was the bond of union. A few years after Othman died, in 1330, they captured Nicæa, one of the old capitals of the Greek Empire and famous as the place where the first great Church council was held in Constantine's day. In a little more than twenty-five years they had crossed the narrow straits which separate Europe and Asia and had begun to plunder the Balkan peninsula. It was their European successes that made them the leaders among the Mohammedans. Soon the emirs were able to take the title "sultan." With a firm foothold in Europe they began to conquer the other emirs in Asia Minor. By 1391 Bulgaria had been overrun. This alarmed the king of Hungary, Sigismund, afterward the German emperor. The other princes of the West were aroused at the call of the pope for a new crusade against the Turks. The result was a disastrous defeat at Nikopolis in 1396, because the French knights rushed forward with the same headlong folly as at Crécy and at Poitiers. This was the end of hope for Bulgaria. It would have hastened the fall of Constanti-




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LITHUANIA
MOSCOW
POLAND
GERMANY
Bulgars
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
Venice
CROATIA
Ragusa
WALLACHIA
EMPIRE OF SERVIA
Dalmatia
BULGARIA
KINGDOM OF SICILY
Constantinople
EMPIRE
Brousa
Philadelphia
ARMENIA
CRETE
CYPRUS
ADVANCE OF THE TURKS
Lands held by the Ottomans in 1359, in solid red; by the Seljuks in Asia Minor, outlined in red. Conquest of the Ottomans in Europe within fifty years, outlined in red, on the basis of the territorial situation in Eastern Europe in 1359.
Lands held by Venice, green; by other Western Powers, purple. A few years later (1386) Poland and Lithuania were united. Note also the beginnings of modern Russia in Muscovy or Muscovy.
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25
Longitude East
30
from Greenwich
35

nople but for a new Mongol invasion under Tamerlane, during which the Turkish sultan was defeated at Angora in Asia Minor and his dominion shattered. For about fifty years the Greek Empire lived on, confined to the lands immediately about Constantinople and a few points on the Greek coast. The Turks made the final assault in 1453. As the city had been founded by a Constantine, it was fitting that in its death agony another Constantine should die defending its walls against the onset of the Turks.

172. The Moors. — In the Spanish peninsula Mohammedanism was not so triumphant. Ever since the twelfth century Aragon in the east, Castile in the centre, and Portugal on the west had been steadily driving the Moors southward. Aragon increased its power by conquering the Balearic Islands and Sardinia. Sicily was seized after the failure of Charles of Anjou to hold this portion of the Hohenstaufen possessions. It was Castile and Portugal, however, that recovered most of the peninsula. Before the end of the fourteenth century Castile touched the Atlantic on both sides of the Guadalquivir and reached the Mediterranean about Carthagena, enclosing within these outstretched arms the little Moorish kingdom of Granada. Portugal had already driven the Moors out of the West and held the territory it still retains.

SUMMARY

I. THE EMPIRE. — 1. The ruling house: (*a*) connection of the Hapsburgs with Austria; (*b*) their wars with the Swiss; (*c*) imperial crown at first not continuously theirs. 2. The electors: (*a*) method of choosing an emperor; (*b*) power of the electoral princes. 3. The Free cities: (*a*) their relation to emperor and lords; (*b*) their leagues; (*c*) the trade privileges of the Hanseatic League.

II. ENGLAND AND FRANCE. — 1. Origin of Hundred Years' War: (*a*) quarrel over succession to French crown; (*b*) trouble about trade with Flanders. 2. War until the Peace of Brétigny: (*a*) weapons; (*b*) battles; (*c*) defeat causes states general to

attempt to manage the kingdom, and (*d*) the ruin of the peasants brings on an insurrection. 3. Second phase of period of the war: (*a*) uprising of the English peasants, partly because of taxation; (*b*) contest for the English crown; (*c*) turmoil in France; (*d*) Agincourt and the Treaty of Troyes. 4. Last period of the war: (*a*) situation of France after death of Charles VI.; (*b*) crisis of Orleans; (*c*) career of Jeanne d'Arc; (*d*) English driven from France.

III. Trouble in the Church. — 1. Attitude of the imperial electors toward papal claims. 2. Effect of the Hundred Years' War upon the clergy. 3. Causes of conflict: (*a*) pluralities; (*b*) papal claims to appointing power; (*c*) English mode of resistance; (*d*) methods chosen by popes to raise money; (*e*) a disputed election and the Great Schism; (*f*) Wycliffe; (*g*) attempts of the councils to end the Schism; (*h*) attitude of the council of Constance toward the pope's power. 4. Settlement of the questions in France and Germany.

IV. The East. — 1. Poland and Lithuania. 2. The Mongols and Muscovy. 3. Bulgaria. 4. Advance of the Ottoman Turks: (*a*) their early victories; (*b*) attempt to check them by a crusade; (*c*) fall of Constantinople. 5. The Moors driven southward in the Spanish peninsula.

IMPORTANT DATES

1273. Rudolph of Hapsburg chosen emperor.
1328. Philip VI., first of Valois kings, ascends French throne.
1346. Battle of Crécy (connect Black Death).
1356. Battle of Poitiers; followed by efforts of Étienne Marcel and states general.
1378. Great Schism; end of Babylonian Captivity (connect Wycliffe).
1396. Battle of Nikopolis.
1414. Council of Constance meets.
1420. Treaty of Troyes, preceded in 1415 by battle of Agincourt and murder of duke of Burgundy.
1431. Jeanne d'Arc burned at Rouen.
1453. English driven from France; fall of Constantinople.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: in addition to Lodge and to histories of separate states, Whitman, *Austria;* Zimmern, *Hanse Towns;* Durham, *English History from Original Sources, 1399–1485.*

PARAGRAPHS: —

155, 156. The Empire: Bryce, Ch. 14.

157. The Cities: Hanseatic League: Munro and Sellery, 358–365; see also Zimmern, Gibbins, 60–69; Cheyney, 81–94.

159. Hundred Years' War: first period: Jones, No. 4, pp. 63–69; selected from Froissart; Kendall, No. 30; Colby, No. 39; Robinson, Nos. 197–198; Frazer, many selections. Black Death (in England): Kendall, No. 33; Colby, 40; Lee, No. 94; (in Florence), Whitcomb, *Italian Renaissance*, pp. 15–18.

161. Peasants' War: Statute of Laborers, see source books; see also Cheyney, 99–125; selections in Frazer.

162–165. The Church: Adams, *Civilization*, Ch. 16; Pastor, I., 57–116; Walker, *Reformation*, Ch. I.; many illustrative writings and documents in Robinson, Nos. 207–213. See also **110–114.**

164. Provisors and Præmunire: see source books. For Wycliffe, Trevelyan; selection from documents in Kendall, Colby, Robinson, *Tr. and Rp.*, and Frazer.

167. Jeanne d'Arc: Kitchin, I., 536–553; biographies by Mrs. Oliphant and Percival Lowell; selections in Durham.

168. The Papacy and the Councils: Fisher, 254–261; Creighton, I., 200 ff., 261 ff., II., 61 ff.; Pastor, I., 174–207, 287 ff.; documents in *Tr. and Rp.*, III., No. 6, pp. 25–33; Robinson, 214–216.

169. Settlement in France and Germany: Creighton, II., 197–199, 282–285; Pastor, I., 335–336, II., 38–40.

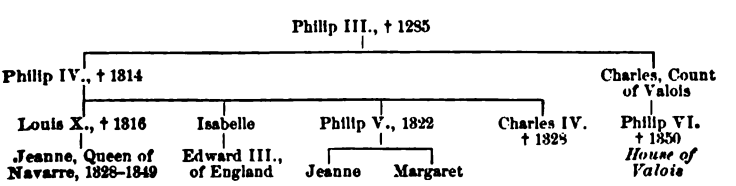
170. The East: Lodge; Morfill, *Russia*, Ch. 4.

171. The Turks: Lodge; Creasy, Ch. 5.

172. The Moors: Burke, II., 26–42; Lane-Poole, Ch. 12.

Additional Reading: Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, from the Great Schism to the sack of Rome, 6 vols.; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 6 vols.; Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe;* Froissart, *Chronicles;* G. C. Macaulay's ed. of Berner's trans.; Lanier's *Boy's Froissart;* Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks.*

GENEALOGY TO ILLUSTRATE THE DISPUTE ABOUT THE FRENCH CROWN IN 1328



Review: Chs. 8–10; period 1100 to 1453: gradual disappearance of serfdom, increasing importance of the townsmen; strengthening of royal power and consolidation of territory in France, with ruin of English-Angevin empire; the German-Roman Empire a loose confederation, the popes at first triumphant, but afterward thrown on the defensive.

Special Reviews: 1. The people or middle class: (*a*) beginnings of their privileges; (*b*) trade brings townsmen power; (*c*) Italian cities, French communes or privileged towns, German Free cities; (*d*) leagues of cities, Lombard League, Hanseatic League; (*e*) representatives of towns summoned to parliament and states general; (*f*) temporary power of great townsmen like Étienne Marcel in Paris; (*g*) services of peasants in England and France changed into money payments. 2. Downfall of English-Angevin power in France: (*a*) origin of this empire; (*b*) geographical difficulties an obstacle of successful rule; (*c*) first great attack by Philip II.; (*d*) drags England and France into Hundred Years' War; (*e*) change in the relation of these fiefs to French king made by Peace of Brétigny; (*f*) resumption of French conquests by Charles V.; (*g*) English attack nearly develops into successful seizure of French kingdom by 1420; (*h*) national uprising destroys this empire except Calais. 3. Transformation of German-Roman Empire into a loose confederation: (*a*) how Frederick I. was hampered by German nobles; (*b*) result of the downfall of the Hohenstaufen family; (*c*) power of the electors. 4. Conflict between State and Church changes its nature: (*a*) aim of popes in original investiture conflict; (*b*) papal aims in the struggle with the Hohenstaufens; (*c*) object of Boniface VIII. in conflict with Edward I. and Philip IV.; (*d*) complaints of papal taxation and of seizure of appointing power; (*e*) attempts to resist by legislation and in general councils of the Church.

Great Men of the Period: Henry II., Philip II., Innocent III., Louis IX., Edward I., Philip IV., Edward III., Étienne Marcel, Wycliffe, Henry V.

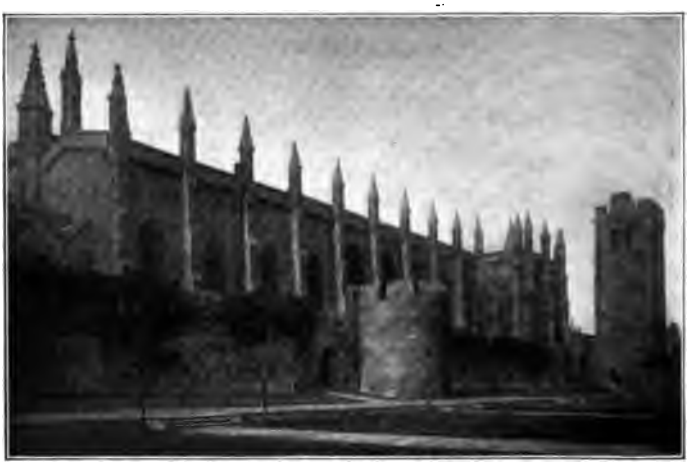
CHAPTER XI.

THE RENAISSANCE

173. The Renaissance. — During the early part of the Middle Ages much that the Greeks had discovered among the facts which make up what we call science had been forgotten. Sometimes a truth like the roundness of the earth lingered as a tradition cherished by a few scholars but denied or ridiculed by most men. Even the knowledge how to make things decreased and with it the desire to give the products of the workshop an artistic form. Language itself became crude. Not knowing how to observe carefully what was about them, men were led by their fancy to crowd the world with strange beasts and stranger spirits. Their minds did not lose a certain youthful vigor, but they were full of incoherent and unreasonable notions. Such a state of things was bound to increase until the feudal system had given to society a little steadiness and security, until trade had revived, and western men could compare their thoughts with the thoughts of the Byzantine Greeks and of the Saracens. Here began the long, slow climb to the level where the Greeks and Romans had stood. In the last half of the fifteenth and the first part of the sixteenth century the men of Italy, Germany, France, and England caught glimpses of what the ancient world had achieved. They were filled with a noble enthusiasm to emulate the Greek and Roman masters. The time of this enthusiasm is called the Renaissance, or the Revival of Learning.

174. The Earlier Revivals. — There were two or three "renaissances" before the great revival of the fifteenth century. Charlemagne's influence had brought about a revival of

learning at the Frankish court under the guidance of the English scholar, Alcuin. A still more brilliant and more permanently useful revival originated in the splendid empire built up by the successors of Mohammed. Its centre was at Bagdad, but its influence was felt in distant Spain. Another renaissance resulted in the establishment of the European universities and in the organization of a system of thought called



NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD.

The chapel and bell tower, with a portion of the mediæval city wall. New College was built by William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, in the last years of the fourteenth century.

scholasticism. The students of the Roman law who had advised Frederick Barbarossa about his rights as an emperor created at Bologna a great school or university, especially devoted to the study of law. In France the monastery and cathedral schools were also growing into universities. The school at Paris, grouped about Notre Dame early in the thirteenth century, became a self-governing body, much like a guild of artisans or merchants. Later in the same century Oxford university was founded. In both Oxford and Paris

the teachers lectured in hired halls called "schools," while the students were gathered in colleges, somewhat like monasteries in their management. Before the fifteenth century commenced there were nearly thirty universities, some devoted to law, others to medicine, still others to theology. The students in Paris and in Oxford were numbered by thousands. At no time since have men seemed more eager to learn. For the Church this new institution might become perilous, in spite of the fact that it was at first loyal to the pope, from whom came many of its privileges, and that its early teachers were priests or monks. Since it was a body partly separate from the ordinary life of the Church, inclined to be jealous of the interference of the bishops, its members felt an *esprit de corps*, or university spirit, which might protect its men even when they refused to follow the teachings of the Church. Wycliffe was stoutly defended at Oxford, and Huss at the university of Prague. The rise of the universities was therefore a sign that civilized life was beginning to leave its churchly shelter and to breathe an atmosphere of its own.

175. The Schoolmen. — These schools would have hastened the great Renaissance of the fifteenth century had they discovered that their special task was to study with instructed eyes the world of things and to bring all they saw into a system of knowledge. The universities which, like Bologna, were chiefly devoted to law had the advantage that in the legal works of Justinian they could compare the rights and duties of men in later Roman society with the cruder customary laws of mediæval Europe. This was a study of facts. Unfortunately the ordinary sciences were made up of a patchwork of knowledge handed down by learned men of past generations and not corrected and supplemented by new observations or experiments. Moreover, in every matter that bordered upon theology the students found ready to their hand a body of teachings or conclusions consecrated as true by the authority of the Church, and, like faithful children, they accepted the task of showing that all this was perfectly

reasonable. In their painstaking work they became wonderfully acute reasoners, following, as they supposed, the method of the Greek philosopher Aristotle, whose works they studied in a Latin version of an Arabic translation from the Greek. One monk, Roger Bacon, saw that they should not take so many things for granted, but should make observations of their own. The result of their method, called scholastic, was that, after the greater minds, like Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and William of Occam, had arranged all the truth they knew in systems, their successors had little to do but to discuss the same things over and over again, seeking to gain inglorious victories on questions of no consequence. It is not surprising that at a later time the schoolmen and scholasticism were regarded with scant respect.

176. **Architecture.** — The architects of this mediæval Renaissance were more successful than the schoolmen in winning the lasting admiration of mankind. Their town halls, castles, and churches still serve as models in the art of building. The French architects devised a new form of construction, called Gothic, in which the arches were pointed and the weight of the roof was borne chiefly upon pillars supported by flying buttresses. The result was that the walls became less massive, so that the interior could be better lighted than buildings constructed in the Romanesque or Norman manner. The Moorish architects of Spain worked out a modification of the Byzantine form of structure and were famous for the beauty of their decorative carvings.

177. **Literature.** — Although Latin maintained itself as the language of the Church and of the universities, books were also written in English, French, German, and Italian. Several of them were works of genius, like Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Froissart's *Chronicles*, Dante's *Divine Comedy*, and Petrarch's *Sonnets*, composed in the fourteenth century. They commenced the work of raising the languages of the common people to the level of Latin, the traditional language of religion and of science.

178. Petrarch, 1304–1374. — Petrarch supposed that his Latin works, rather than his sonnets, would be immortal. In one sense his devotion to Latin is his chief claim to greatness. He was among the first to search for the works of the Romans,



CATHEDRAL OF AMIENS.

Style, Gothic; built 1220–1288; total length, 470 feet. View from west end of nave, which is 147 feet high. The vaulting of nave, transepts, and choir is supported upon 126 columns.

to study their style with appreciation, and to cultivate in others a similar love. Though born in Italy of Florentine parents, he was brought up at Avignon. Upon his earliest visit to Rome he was surprised at the contrast between its mediæval buildings and the beautiful though broken monuments which sur-

vived from the ancient city. Many Romans had looked upon these ruins as useful quarries from which to obtain stone already cut, or as a storehouse of marble which might be burned for lime. Not so Petrarch. His mind turned more and more to the ancient world with eager curiosity and reverence. To find the lost works of Roman writers became one of his passions. The search which he commenced was taken up by princes and popes, and the recovered books were gathered in libraries, where they could be studied by enthusiastic scholars.



S. GIMIGNANO.

Situated southwest of Florence, halfway to the coast. Weakened by dissensions between families occupying such tower fortresses, it was subjected to Florence in 1353. Of the fifty towers existing in the Middle Ages, thirteen (one 160 feet high) are still standing.

179. Renaissance in Italy. — Italy was the land of the Renaissance. This was partly due to the fact that everywhere in Italy were monuments that reminded men of the glories of their race; it was also due to a city life as active as that of ancient Athens. Most of the Italian cities had lost their

dearly purchased freedom and had fallen under the rule of the leading families or of successful soldiers whom they had employed in wars with one another. Milan now had a duke, first a Visconti and afterward a Sforza. Venice was ruled by a Council of Ten. Florence, the most remarkable of them all, though nominally a republic, was controlled by the Medici, a family of wealthy merchants. The greatest of this family was Lorenzo the Magnificent, who, in the later part of the fifteenth century, gathered about him poets, philosophers, architects, sculptors, and painters. He collected manuscripts and antiquities. His example was followed by many noble Florentines, by the rulers of other cities, and by the popes.

180. The Study of Greek. — The study of ancient literature had ceased to be the study of what the Romans alone had produced. Petrarch had tried, though vainly, to gain a good knowledge of Greek. In his day the West could furnish no capable teachers, nor any grammars, of the language. The first teacher of Greek who could explain skilfully the Greek poets and philosophers was Manuel Chrysoloras, who came to Italy on an embassy from Constantinople, asking for aid against the Turks. The cultured men of Florence were charmed by his learning and persuaded him to lecture there. This was in the year 1397. In order to assist his eager pupils he made a Greek grammar, the first in modern times. His success led other Greeks to visit Italy, particularly because the shadow of approaching ruin lay over Constantinople. In this way, when the last, fateful day arrived, Greek learning had already found a refuge far from the reach of the Turkish invader.

181. Humanists and the Papacy. — The men who were devoted to the new studies were called Humanists, and they acted upon the noble old motto that nothing human was outside the circle of their interests. The popes were not content that Florence should remain at the head of this intellectual and artistic life. To make Rome its capital they began to restore ancient churches, to undertake new buildings, and to

call painters and sculptors to their aid. They also brought together a library, which, under Nicholas V., contained between five and ten thousand manuscripts.

182. North of the Alps. — The Germans and the Netherlanders were the first peoples north of the Alps to feel a similar admiration for ancient literature and art. Many of their cities had been enriched by commerce and adorned with beautiful town halls and churches. In Germany the princes, who had become almost independent of the emperor, were eager to found universities. From 1450 to 1506 nine were established, one of which was the Saxon university of Wittenberg. The Germans were not inclined, like many Italians, to carry their admiration of the Greeks and Romans to the extent of losing sympathy with Christianity and becoming modern pagans. Several of them were trained in the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life, an order whose task was to educate children and to distribute devotional books. Guided by such influences, they sought to rid their Christian beliefs of crude and superstitious additions, and to reform the management of Church affairs. Since the glories of Rome were not their heritage, they bestowed a part of their new love of the past upon ancient Germany. The Emperor Maximilian and his friends searched everywhere for the chronicles of the early German kingdom.

183. German Inventions. — The Germans were also practical inventors. They improved astronomical instruments. The best compasses and astrolabes were made in Nuremberg. There, also, Martin Behaim constructed, in 1491, a globe which embodied all the new knowledge of the earth, including the latest Portuguese discoveries. The art of printing with movable types was devised about the middle of the century, by John Gutenberg, a native of Mainz. Twenty years later the process, hitherto kept secret, was carried all over Europe. Before the century closed there were a thousand presses in Germany alone.

184. Printing. — The art of printing was at first in high favor among churchmen, because Bibles, psalters, devotional

and theological works, could be multiplied for the use of the clergy. Nearly one hundred editions of the Jerome or Vulgate version of the Bible were printed before 1500. The printing-presses were equally useful in publishing the newly found works of the Greeks and Romans, or the poems and tales of French, English, and Italian writers. One of the earliest books that came from the press of the English William



NUREMBERG.

In the Middle Ages a rich and influential Free city. Annexed to Bavaria in 1806. Still surrounded by its mediæval walls, with 100 of the 365 towers.

Caxton, who had learned the art of printing at Cologne, was Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. An equally famous printer, Aldus Minutius of Venice, published beautiful editions of Aristotle, Thucydides, and other Greek writers. The multiplication of such books had many important consequences. Learning became less than before the privilege of a few favored scholars. It was easier to collect libraries. The ordinary student could see that the Greeks and Romans not only expressed themselves more clearly and artistically than the men

of the Middle Ages, but that they had also written much which was better worth reading. The result was that he ceased to repeat slavishly what the schoolmen had taught as science, and became anxious to investigate for himself. Such students formed an army of workers organized by the scholars who were laying the foundations of modern science.

185. Voyages. — It was not from books alone that new and wonderful things were learned. Voyages had begun, which were not to end until America and farthest Asia had been discovered and explored. Europeans had learned much about Asia from the *Travels* of Marco Polo, a Venetian, who had visited the court of the Mongol emperors in the thirteenth century, and who had returned by sea as far as the head of the Persian Gulf. Scholars searched the recovered writings of the Greeks and Romans for information about the earth. Meanwhile, the art of navigation had been improved. By the end of the thirteenth century the mariner's compass had come into general use, so that it was safer to undertake voyages far from the shores of Europe. Portuguese ships, with Genoese pilots, had discovered the Madeiras and the Azores. The desire of the Portuguese to fight the "infidel" in Africa, after they had driven him from the borders of their little kingdom, led to still more important voyages in the fifteenth century, under the direction of Prince Henry. This prince wished to form colonies in the Azores, and to conquer the rich lands which he thought lay south of the Sahara. To meet the expenses of his expeditions, he ordered his captains to engage in the slave trade. Each voyage carried the knowledge of African geography still farther, and gave scholars a deeper interest in the questions which had been discussed by Ptolemy and other Greek or Roman geographers.

186. The French Monarchy. — Before the Renaissance affected France or England, they had emerged from their long wars stronger monarchies, with the power of the nobles broken. Charles VII. of France began to reorganize his government in 1439, as soon as Jeanne d'Arc's heroic efforts had

driven the English toward the coast and the duke of Burgundy had broken off his alliance with them. He could no longer hope to live, as did his ancestors in the days before Philip Augustus, chiefly on the income from his own domain lands. Nor did he wish to be obliged to ask continually for grants of money from the states general. Accordingly, he followed the example of his grandfather, Charles V., and worked to change temporary grants into taxes, which he could collect without the express permission of the states general. His success enabled him to keep a strong army ready for service in foreign wars, or in defeating the conspiracies of restless nobles.

187. The Unification of France, Louis XI., 1461–1483. — In the reign of Louis XI. the monarchy was again threatened by the duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, who held, besides Burgundy, nearly all that is now included in Holland and Belgium. Charles was anxious to enlarge his territory at the expense of Louis and to become king in the region where Charlemagne's grandson, Lothair, had ruled. Fortunately for France he was killed in battle with the Swiss in 1477, and Louis was able to seize the duchy of Burgundy, Picardy, Artois, and several other fiefs. The remainder of the heritage was saved for the duke's daughter, Mary, by Maximilian of Austria, whom she married. In Louis's reign France also gained Provence, which with Dauphiné, purchased a century before, carried the southeastern frontier to the Alps. His son, Charles VIII., married Anne of Brittany and added her duchy, the last of the great fiefs, to the royal domain. The feudal lords, who had disputed power with the kings through the Middle Ages, sank to the position of a nobility or aristocracy in a strongly organized kingdom.

188. The French invade Italy. — The bequest which brought Provence to the French crown brought also a claim upon the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, once held by Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX. With the expedition into Italy in 1494, to make good this claim, began the distinctly foreign wars of France. Italy was torn by the rivalries of Milan, Venice,

Florence, of the German emperor, the king of Naples, and the popes. The great Florentine preacher, Savonarola, welcomed the French king as if he were intrusted with the vengeance of God upon wicked men. After a moment of triumph, the expedition failed disastrously, and Ferdinand of Aragon eventually got possession of Naples. Louis XII., who succeeded Charles VIII. in 1498, also claimed the duchy of Milan, because the grandmother of Louis XII. was a Visconti. The armies of Louis were more successful in the north than either his or his predecessor's had been in the south, and for a time his hold on Milan seemed secure. Both kings and nobles had seen the new beauties of Italy, and they carried back to France a taste for its art and a love for the ancient authors which the Italians had found so interesting.

189. England. — England, shortly after her armies had been driven from France by Charles VII., had been plunged into a civil war between rival claimants for the crown. There were two parties, the Yorkists and the Lancastrians, which had taken their names from the families of sons of Edward III. Their struggles for the crown have been called the Wars of the Roses, because the red rose was the favorite flower of the Lancastrians, while the white rose was chosen by the Yorkists. The Yorkists under Edward IV. held the throne almost continuously from 1461 to 1483. Upon Edward's death his sons were murdered by his brother, Richard, duke of Gloucester, who seized the crown. He was overthrown and killed at the battle of Bosworth in 1485 by Henry Tudor, who had inherited the Lancastrian claims. This king, the seventh of the Henrys, made the monarchy more absolute than it had been since the days of the Norman and Angevin rulers. So many lords had been slain in the wars that the House of Lords could not oppose his will, and the House of Commons was too weak. With peace and strong government prosperity increased and the sons of Englishmen began to journey to Italy to acquire the new learning. The enthusiasm which their teachings stirred on their return was so great that when Henry VII.



died in 1509, his son, Henry VIII., took the Humanists especially under his protection; indeed, he strove to be one of the leading Humanists himself.

190. Spain. — The formation of the kingdom of Spain, destined to play the foremost part in Europe during the sixteenth century, was also completed at this time. Until 1474 Castile and Aragon had been separate kingdoms, and it had long been uncertain whether Castile would be united to Aragon or to Portugal. The marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile a few years before had settled this question. The task of the two monarchs was difficult, for the nobles were almost independent, and the country was suffering from the same ills which troubled France when the royal authority was weak. By a union of the towns, Ferdinand and Isabella succeeded in putting down lawlessness. In the administration of public affairs they thrust the great nobles into the background, employing men from the middle class or petty nobles who had been trained by the study of the Roman law to believe that a king's will should have the force of law. After order had been reëstablished they completed the conquest of Moorish Spain, in 1492, by overthrowing the little kingdom of Granada. They stained their victory by the cruel injustice with which they treated the industrious Moors who had been promised freedom to continue their Moslem worship. In order to save themselves from exile, multitudes of these Moors declared that they would become Christians. To compel them to keep this pledge, those who showed signs of falling into their old ways were turned over to the court called the Inquisition, and hundreds of them were burned at the stake as heretics. This rude method of forcing men to become loyal Spaniards had already been tried with the Spanish Jews. It was shortly after the conquest of Granada that Ferdinand added Naples to Sardinia and Sicily, his other possessions outside of Aragon. Early in the next century his possessions and those of Isabella passed to their grandson Charles, who was also the grandson of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian.

191. The Indies. — As the fifteenth century drew to a close the Portuguese and the Spaniards entered upon a race for the Indies. In 1471 the Portuguese captains had been surprised to discover that the coast which at the gulf of Guinea ran eastward turned southward again and stretched away interminably. Christopher Columbus, a Genoese sailor who had been in their employ, was convinced that it would be easier to reach the Indies by sailing directly west across the Atlantic. He had calculated that the eastern coast of Asia lay where the West India islands actually lie. In 1487, before he could carry out his plans, a Portuguese, Bartholomew Diaz, had rounded the Cape of Good Hope and had sailed a certain distance beyond. Since the Portuguese had reliable information about the eastern coast of Africa as far south as Zanzibar, the problem of reaching the East Indies by sailing around Africa was solved. They had not been able to take advantage of their new knowledge before Columbus, obtaining a fleet from Queen Isabella, had tried his plan of reaching Asia by sailing directly west. In October, 1492, he reached the islands which he believed lay off the coast of Asia. Many years later, men learned that he had simply run upon a great barrier continent, and that it was more difficult to reach Asia by sailing west than by sailing around Africa. In 1498 the Portuguese under Vasco da Gama reached India, and in 1511 had begun to establish themselves in the much-coveted Spice Islands, two years before the Spaniard, Balboa, had seen the Pacific Ocean. It was only in 1520 that Magellan, a Portuguese sailor, who had been in Malacca, but who had entered the Spanish service, succeeded in sailing westward into the Pacific through the straits which now bear his name. In March, 1521, he discovered for Spain the Philippine Islands. Nevertheless, the Spaniards had found in America lands far more important. The conquests of Cortez and Pizarro opened to them the rich mines of Mexico and Peru. The English, who, later, were to dispossess them of much of this territory, in 1497 touched the coast of America in a voyage conducted by an Italian named John Cabot.

192. An Era of Change. — Had the men of the day been able to group together and understand fully all the wonderful things that were happening, it would have seemed that the sixteenth century was opening with greater promise than any of its predecessors. At last the veil that had shrouded the "Sea of Darkness" had been lifted; the Indies had been reached, and their rich spices and fabrics could be brought directly to the ports of Europe. The ancient world had been rediscovered and its treasures of knowledge and of literature, no longer hidden in forgotten piles of manuscripts, could be placed in printed volumes upon the student's table. Scholars like Erasmus were busy exploring these writings, explaining carefully each passage, and editing correct editions. Painters, sculptors, and architects, like Michelangelo, Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, were beautifying Rome and Italy, and their fame was spreading northward to quicken the genius of Germans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Spaniards. Unhappily other things also were taking place. The rivalries of princes or cities were filling Europe with wars as disastrous as those of the Middle Ages. The evil customs in the Church were uncorrected, and this at a time when, emboldened by the new spirit of inquiry, men were likely to question the teachings of the Church and to find its moral discipline burdensome.

SUMMARY

I. RENAISSANCE. — 1. Earlier revivals: (*a*) at Charlemagne's court; (*b*) Saracen civilization; (*c*) rise of universities; (*d*) failure of the schoolmen as investigators; (*e*) success of church builders. 2. Writers and students: (*a*) great books of the fourteenth century; (*b*) work of Petrarch; (*c*) influence of Italian princes and popes; (*d*) renewed study of Greek; (*e*) German interest in religious studies. 3. Inventors and discoverers: (*a*) astronomical instruments; (*b*) art of printing; (*c*) famous printers, influence of books; (*d*) Marco Polo's travels; (*e*) voyagers of Prince Henry; (*f*) the Portuguese and Spanish voyages to the Indies.

II. Triumph of Monarchy in France, England, and Spain.—1. France: (*a*) kings gain right to levy regular taxes, organize a standing army; (*b*) Louis XI. and Charles of Burgundy; (*c*) fiefs added to France. 2. England: (*a*) rivalries for the crown; (*b*) reasons for power of Henry VII. 3. Spain: (*a*) union of Castile and Aragon; (*b*) reorganization of government by Ferdinand and Isabella; (*c*) conquest of Granada; (*d*) acquisition of Naples.

IMPORTANT DATES

1374. End of Petrarch's career.
1397. Chrysoloras begins to teach Greek at Florence.
1410. Prince Henry begins his work as organizer of voyages.
1474. Union of Castile and Aragon.
1477. Death of Charles the Bold, ruin of Burgundian scheme.
1485. Accession of Henry VII., first of the Tudors.
1487. Diaz sails around Cape of Good Hope.
1492. Conquest of Granada; discovery of America.
1511. The Portuguese in the Spice Islands.
1519. Magellan begins his voyage round the world.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: Adams, *Civilization*, Ch. 15; Bryce, Ch. 17; Symonds, *Short History of the Italian Renaissance* (a condensation by Alfred Pearson of Symonds's seven volumes); *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I.; Whitcomb, *Source Books of the Italian and German Renaissance.*

Paragraphs:—

174. The Universities: Laurie, Compayré, and Rashdall. For Frederick and the university of Bologna, see **132**; for Wycliffe and Huss, see **165**, **168**.

175. The Schoolmen: Robinson, pp. 455–461; Emerton, *Mediæval Europe*, Ch. 13.

176. Architecture: Sturgis, 365–473, richly illustrated.

178. Petrarch: many selections from his writings in *Petrarch*, by Robinson and Rolfe; a brief selection in Whitcomb, *Italian Renaissance*, pp. 8–15.

179. Renaissance in Italy: Symonds, *Short History*, Chs. 1, 7; general characteristics illustrated in selections given by Robinson in Ch. 22. See also selections in Whitcomb.

181. Papal Library: Whitcomb, 63–64.

PARAGRAPHS: —

182. Renaissance in Germany: Beard, *Luther*, Ch. 3; *Cambridge Modern History*, Ch. I.; Jannsen, Vol. I.; Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, Ch. 10; Munroe; for selections from writings, see Whitcomb, *German Renaissance and Select Colloquies of Erasmus.*

183–184. Printing: see *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, Vol. I., pp. 633–634, 639–641.

185, 191. Voyages: *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, Ch. I.; Bourne; Fiske, Vol. I.; Avery, Vol. I.; Beazley.

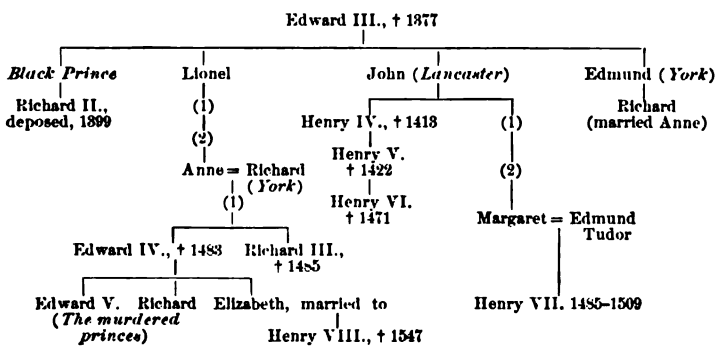
187. Unification of France: *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, Vol. I., Ch. 12.

189. War of the Roses: Gardiner, 320–343; selections in Kendall, Ch. 7; in Durham; for genealogy, see below.

190. Spain: Cheyney or Burke, II., 26–42.

Additional Reading: Laurie, *Rise of the Universities;* Compayré, *Abelard;* Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols.; Jannsen, *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*, 6 vols.; Munroe, *Thomas Platter and the Educational Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century;* Fiske, *Discovery of America*, 2 vols.; Bourne (E. G.), *Spain in America;* Avery, *History of the United States;* Ramsay, *York and Lancaster;* Cheyney, *The European Background;* Hume, *Spain, 1479–1788;* Grant, *The French Monarchy, 1494–1789*, 2 vols.; Burckhardt, *Renaissance in Italy;* Brown, *The Venetian Republic;* Oliphant, *Makers of Florence;* Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator.*

TO ILLUSTRATE DISPUTE ABOUT THE ENGLISH CROWN AND THE WARS OF THE ROSES (York, *White*, and Lancaster, *Red*)



CHAPTER XII.

THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION

193. A Greater Schism. — For Christians to differ with one another about matters of belief or about the organization of the Church was not a new thing in the sixteenth century. For more than eight hundred years the Greek and Roman Christians had looked upon each other as schismatics and heretics. In the East there were several Churches which agreed with neither. Even in the Roman Church there had been a schism, and the nations had been grouped behind rival popes. The West had also seen parliaments or kings summarily cut off privileges which the popes had acquired. The English parliament had done this by the statutes of Provisors and Præmunire, and the French king, Charles VII., had accomplished the same thing by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. Only Germany, of the three great nations, had failed to restrain the papal demands because the power of the emperor was practically gone. Nevertheless, to the Christians of the day heresy and schism were hateful wrongs. They could not imagine how there could be more than one true Church. When revolution came, all men, even the revolutionists, shrank from the danger of permanently dividing the Church and from countenancing the thought that Christians could rightly differ upon important doctrines. It was only after a long and irreconcilable conflict that a temporary compromise was agreed upon, whereby certain countries or certain classes of men were allowed to worship in ways not approved by custom, to refuse allegiance to the pope, and to hold beliefs that had been branded as heretical. This had taken place in all western Europe north of the Alps and

the Pyrenees by 1561, and the event marked the ruin of the mediæval Church.

194. The Church in Peril. — Neither the decisions of the "reforming" councils of Constance and Basel nor the thoroughgoing fashion in which the English and the French governments had cut off its privileges had convinced the papacy that the time had come for a reorganization of its system of administering the affairs of the Church. It was not easy to distinguish between things upon which the popes must insist as necessary to the exercise of a wise authority and things which encroached upon the rights of others. The Roman officials who administered the affairs of the papacy did not have a reputation for justice and economy. Many of them were accused of charging extortionate fees and of taking bribes. To make the matter worse, the popes, like Alexander VI., in the latter part of the fifteenth century, in their struggle to defend their power over the States of the Church, acted with the same unscrupulous violence as did other Italian princes.

195. The Concordat. — Upon the eve of revolution the papacy seemed still unconscious of the danger, and in a startling instance ignored the convictions of many earnest churchmen. The French king, Francis I., had won the battle of Marignano in 1515, and with it had recovered the duchy of Milan. Northern Italy was at his feet. In order to strengthen his influence in Italian politics Francis needed the pope as his ally, and Pope Leo was determined to obtain the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, which checked the papal authority in France. The result was the Concordat or agreement of Bologna by which the freedom of Church elections, once championed by the popes themselves, was taken away, and thereafter the king was to nominate to archbishoprics, bishoprics, and abbeys, while the pope was to institute or install the candidates. Immediately afterward the king permitted the pope to begin again the collection of the annats.

196. Erasmus. — North of the Alps several influential churchmen, who were also lovers of the new learning, attempted by

their writings and teachings to correct the evils which threatened the Church and to strengthen the religious feeling of intelligent men. The most famous of the group was Erasmus, a native of Rotterdam, who had taught Greek at Cambridge, England, but who lived much at Paris, and whose later years were to be spent in Basel, near his friend, the printer Froben. Erasmus wrote a book called the *Praise of Folly*, in which Folly herself argued for all the wrong and unreasonable things in the world in such a way as to set everybody to laughing at them. Lazy monks and luxury-loving bishops got their full share of such shafts and found it difficult to join in the laughter. But Erasmus had more serious work to do. His most important task was a good edition of the Greek text of the New Testament. Hitherto, in their studies, scholars had been obliged to use chiefly the Vulgate, the translation into Latin by St. Jerome. In order that Biblical scholarship might have a sound basis, the Greek text must be corrected by a comparison of all the ancient manuscripts that could be found. Erasmus published his first edition in 1516, the year of the Concordat. Among his other tasks was the publication of the writings of early teachers of the Church like St. Augustine and Origen. Through these it was possible to gain a clearer idea how gradual had been the formation of the doctrines of the Church,



ERASMUS.

The foremost scholar and literary man of his day. Born at Rotterdam about 1467. Though he became a monk, he was permitted to reside outside the monastery after 1490. Studied at the university of Paris, taught at the university of Cambridge. Had many influential patrons, even at Rome. Died at Basel in 1536. In addition to his work on the Greek text of the New Testament, his best known writings are the *Adages* selected from classical writers, the *Colloquies* or dialogues on various subjects, and the *Praise of Folly*.

and to contrast early Christianity with the Christianity that the schoolmen had taught. One of Erasmus's English friends, John Colet, who had studied in Italy, was at this time lecturing at Oxford on St. Paul's Epistles, alarming some of his hearers by his manner of explaining passages with a vigor and freshness quite unlike the scholastic method. In Paris, Jacques Lefèvre, a great mathematician, had also turned eagerly to the study of the Bible, in which, rather than in cumbrous theological works, was to be found, he said, the true doctrine of Christ. In his commentary upon St. Paul's Epistles, published in 1512, he declared that pilgrimages and penances could not give men merit before God, and that the true way was through the union of the trusting soul to Christ. How far such scholars could carry peaceful reform there was little opportunity to see, for almost immediately a revolution broke out in Germany which threw their work into the background.

197. Indulgences. — Had this revolution been brought on by the old trouble about taxes and appointments it would not have been surprising. Whatever the underlying causes, the occasion was a controversy over the way the wrong-doer must be restored to good standing in the Church and to the favor of God. A hearty repentance had not seemed enough; it was necessary that the contrite sinner "do works meet for repentance." In the early Church men had been compelled to humble themselves, to wear a penitent's robe, or do something which should show the majesty of the broken law. Gradually, for one reason or another, penitents were "indulged" or freed from a portion of such punishment or penance. Penances were also changed, so that fines in money, after the manner of German penalties for crimes, were substituted for the old, humiliating penances. Such fines were really indulgences, for they shortened the time of penance or took its place. After Christians came to believe in purgatory, a place of purifying punishment for souls finally to be received into paradise, it was thought that the period of suffering might be shortened through an indulgence or pardon, and that the letter

of the law of penalties might be satisfied by placing to the credit of needy souls some of the good works which holy men and women had performed in excess of the law's requirements. Although the greater teachers of the Church held that repentance, confession, and the priest's formal declaration of forgiveness or absolution must precede the purchase of an indulgence, if this were to be efficacious, others argued that the merit of the indulgence itself could make up for a lack of real sorrow for sin and could remove the guilt. Sensitive souls were tormented by the fear that they had not purchased a sufficient indulgence. The practice was fast becoming a scandal and at last brought on a quarrel which rent the Church.



MARTIN LUTHER.

Born at Eisleben, 1483. Entered Augustinian monastery at Erfurt. In 1508 became professor of philosophy at the university of Wittenberg. Visited Rome in 1510. Completed his translation of the New Testament in 1522 and of the whole Bible in 1532. Died, 1546.

198. Luther (1483–1546) and Indulgences. — It happened in this way. Pope Julius II. had begun the rebuilding of St. Peter's church at Rome upon the plans of the architect Bramante. When Julius died in 1513, the work languished. Pope Leo, in order to procure money, provided for a special issue of indulgences. The German states were divided into three fields, and the disposal of the indulgences in one was conceded to the archbishop of Mainz, who when he had become archbishop had paid the papal court a fee of thirty thousand ducats, borrowing the sum from an Augsburg banking house. He received permission to retain half of the proceeds of the issue in order that he might repay the loan. Frederick, the elector of Saxony, refused to allow Tetzel, the chief of the preachers, to enter his domains. Tetzel, however, preached on the borders of Saxony, so that the elector's people flocked thither to purchase indulgences. This led Dr. Martin

Luther, a monk and professor of philosophy in the new university of Wittenberg, to post conspicuously, in October, 1517, ninety-five theses or propositions which he offered to prove, tending to show that confidence in indulgences was dangerous. Luther had no intention of attacking the pope or of teaching heresy. He boldly expressed what many other good churchmen said more quietly. Like Colet and Lefèvre he had come to believe that the heavy consciousness of guilt could not be removed by "good works," and that the soul could shake itself clear by a bold act of faith in God's promises.

199. Luther and the Pope. — At first Pope Leo thought the controversy was an affair between two kinds of monks, for Luther was an Augustinian, while Tetzel was a Dominican. As the controversy became more excited Luther's own opinions changed and he began to criticise the teachings of the Church and to find fault with its organization. He denied that there was any difference between the priest and the ordinary Christian save the office he held, and called upon the "Christian Nobles of the German Nation" to take the reform of the Church into their own hands. A little later he declared that the Church was in bondage to Rome, a new "Babylonian Captivity," and attacked those beliefs and forms of worship which gave the priesthood their power, that is to say, the belief that in the mass, at the word of the priest, the substance of the bread and wine is changed into the body and blood of Christ and is offered in sacrifice as a renewed atonement. Conservative men now looked upon Luther as a heretic and drew back, but thousands of other Germans saw in him a dauntless champion of German rights against foreign oppression. Whether he would be arrested and punished as a heretic depended upon the German princes, and partly, also, upon how busy men were with other matters. His defiant attitude was clear, for when the pope excommunicated him in 1520, he publicly burned the papal bull.

200. Under the Ban. — In 1519, before the controversy had reached its height, the emperor Maximilian died, and his grand-

son, Charles, already duke of Burgundy and king of Spain, was chosen emperor. This choice made Charles the lifelong antagonist of Francis I. of France, chiefly because in Germany, in the Netherlands, in Burgundy, in Italy, in Spain, the ambitions of Francis were thwarted by Charles. Moreover, Charles possessed so much power that it seemed likely he would make of the Holy Roman Empire a Roman reality of the ancient type. For the time Pope Leo feared the French more than he did Charles, for Francis was strong in northern Italy, and Charles only desired to be. Meanwhile, in 1521, Charles summoned at Worms a diet of the electors, the princes, and the representatives of the cities. Luther was called before it and commanded to recant his errors. He refused to do so unless what he had written should be proved wrong from the Scriptures and by clear reasoning. Although this was an appeal from the authority of the Church and of imperial assemblies to his own individual judgment, the members of the diet were reluctant to condemn him, for his name had become a battle-cry among the Germans. It was only after a part of the princes had gone that he was placed under the ban of the Empire. As the emperor had given him a safe-conduct he had been allowed to go unmolested. On the road to Wittenberg he was spirited away to Wartburg Castle by order of the elector of Saxony, so that he might be safe until the storm blew over. Charles was too busy to enforce the ban, for his first war with Francis



CHARLES V.

Born at Ghent in 1500, inherited the Netherlands in 1506, became king of Spain in 1516, emperor of the German-Roman Empire in 1519. Abdicated in 1556. Died at the monastery of Yuste, Spain, in 1558.

had already begun. Pope Leo lived only long enough to know that the French power in northern Italy was broken.

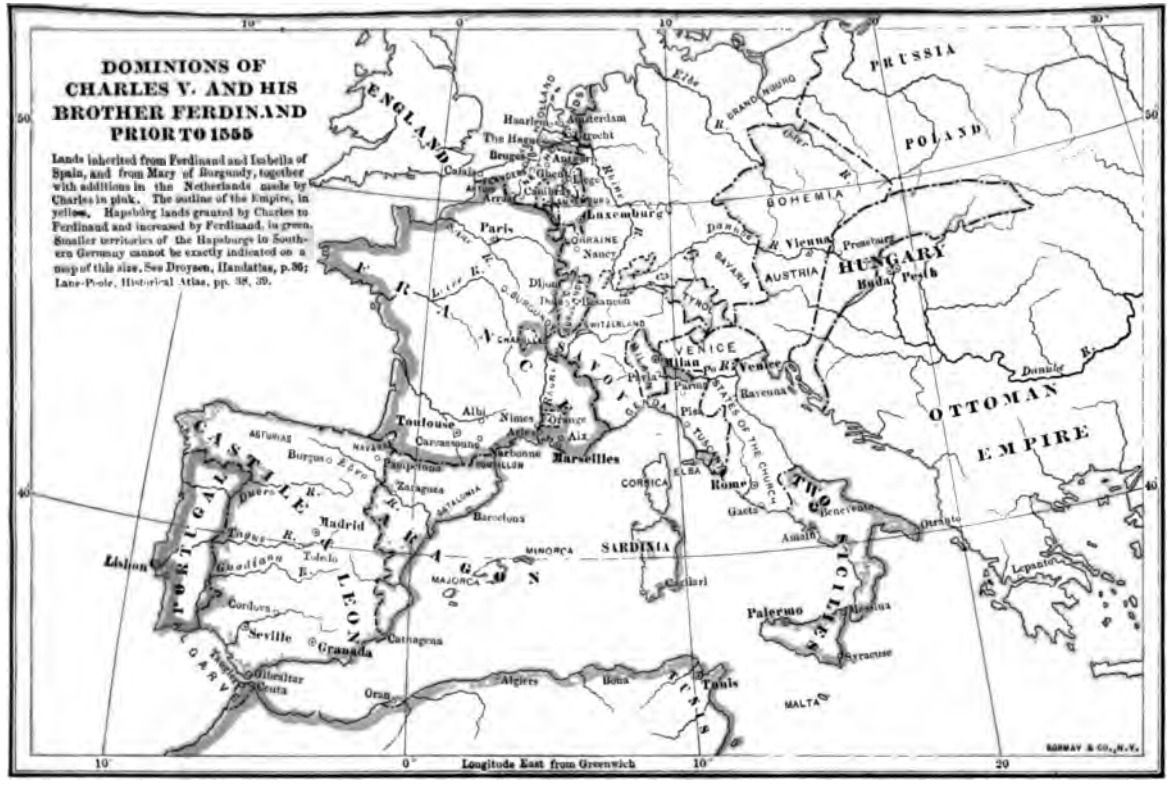
201. After the Diet. — It would have been difficult for Charles to carry out the decree of the diet, for the princes and the Free or independent cities were jealous of their privileges and would not have endured anything that looked like a vigorous act of imperial power. Little was done to restrain Luther and his followers until 1529, for no sooner had the first war with France ended than another broke out. Luther had more to fear from the violence of his own partisans than from the emperor. He had not been in the Wartburg long before some of his Wittenberg friends rudely replaced the customary forms of worship by others more in accord with what he had seemed to them to teach in his writings and speeches. He left his retreat, hurried back to Wittenberg, and restored order. It was only gradually that he reorganized the Church service in agreement with his new notions of Christian worship. Meanwhile he completed his translation of the Bible into German, which, multiplied upon a hundred presses, was read everywhere.

202. Revolt of the Peasants. — Luther's troubles were not ended. His defiance of Church authority, his declaration that all Christians were brothers, resounded ominously among the peasants of southern Germany, ground down as the French and English peasants had been in the eleventh century. From time to time, groups of them had revolted, and in 1524 one of these revolts grew into a general insurrection. In their formal demands they asked that they be released from serfdom "as true Christians unless it could be proved from the Gospel" that they were serfs. Luther had little real sympathy with the peasants, although he was peasant born. He saw that his cause was ruined if he countenanced rebellion against the nobles. Consequently he denounced the unhappy peasants, urging the princes to cut them down like mad dogs. The insurrection was drowned in blood as had been the French Jacquerie and the English Peasants' Revolt. The condition

of the peasants became worse than before, and in their bitterness they turned from Luther. In the towns like Nuremberg, Strasburg, Magdeburg, and Lübeck, and among princes like the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, the triumph of Luther's views became more certain. In some cases, by the act of the magistrates or the princes, the newer forms of worship replaced the old. Almost everywhere it was the clergy themselves who took the lead. Monasteries were closed and Church property was administered by the government. The grand master of the Teutonic Order changed its Prussian lands into a duchy, which two centuries later became the kingdom of Prussia. Although such changes seemed to show that the Lutherans would not be reconciled to the Church, none believed that another Church was to be created, and that western Christendom was to be rent by schism.

203. Reform in Other Lands. — Luther's influence did not stop at the borders of Germany. His teachings were soon accepted in Denmark and Sweden. The work of Lefèvre was probably more hindered than helped by the controversy. He looked for a peaceful change in the Church itself. As soon as his friends saw how far Luther was going, some of them drew back in fear, others became such eager partisans of change that they thought Lefèvre too timid a reformer. The theologians of the university of Paris, in alarm, united with the judges in the parlement to punish the new heresies, and caused several men to be burned at the stake. In England there were few Lollards left, but their memory was not dead, nor had Wycliffe's teachings been wholly forgotten. This gave Luther's views a chance to be heard. Henry VIII., who esteemed himself a great theologian, undertook to refute Luther's errors, and the pope conferred upon him the title, "Defender of the Faith." In the Netherlands, also, Lutherans appeared, and by order of Charles they were seized and hurried to the stake.

204. Switzerland. — In Switzerland reform found a champion almost as great as Luther. This was Ulrich Zwingli, who


DOMINIONS OF CHARLES V. AND HIS BROTHER FERDINAND PRIOR TO 1555
Lands inherited from Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and from Mary of Burgundy, together with additions in the Netherlands made by Charles in pink. The outline of the Empire, in yellow. Hapsburg lands granted by Charles to Ferdinand and increased by Ferdinand, in green. Smaller territories of the Hapsburgs in Southern Germany cannot be exactly indicated on a map of this size. See Droysen, Handatlas, p. 36; Lane-Poole, Historical Atlas, pp. 38, 39.
ENGLAND
PRUSSIA
POLAND
BOHEMIA
HUNGARY
AUSTRIA
BAVARIA
TYROL
VENICE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
PORTUGAL
CASTILE
LEON
ARAGON
NAVARRE
SARDINIA
CORSICA
SICILY
MALTA
Paris
Madrid
Lisbon
Seville
Granada
Algiers
Tunis
Rome
Longitude East from Greenwich



became priest in the cathedral church of Zurich in 1518. He had been an eager student of Paul's Epistles, the Greek text of which he had copied from Erasmus's edition that he might have it in more convenient form. Almost from the first he based his preaching wholly on the Scriptures. As his views gradually changed, he carried the town magistrates with him, so that a new order of things was quietly introduced. He went much farther than Luther. Although Luther did not believe in transubstantiation or the change of the substance of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, he did believe that the body of Christ was present in the consecrated bread and wine. Zwingli, on the contrary, taught that the Lord's Supper was only a commemorative feast. Luther thought this view so unchristian that he would hardly recognize Zwingli as a Christian brother.

205. The Humanists. — It is not surprising that in the confusion of all these discordant cries the Humanists were nearly lost sight of. Many of them were in favor of a reform like that advocated by Lefèvre. Erasmus steadily continued his work of editing, refusing to take sides in the conflict. The more violent reformers called him a timorous time server, while the theologians at Paris accused his writings of being the root of all the ill.

206. Charles, Francis, the Pope, the Protestants. — In the war with Charles V., Francis I. had been captured in Italy and taken to Spain. At Madrid, early in 1526, he was forced to sign a humiliating treaty in order to procure his release. As Charles was now powerful in northern Italy, the new Medicean pope, Clement VII., had the same reason to oppose him that Leo had to oppose Francis. The peace of Madrid proved to be only a truce. This was one reason why the Lutherans were not disturbed. There was still another. In an invasion of Hungary the Turks had just killed the king of Hungary and Bohemia at the battle of Mohacs. Ferdinand, the brother of Charles, had married the sister of the late king and claimed the throne. Charles had already given him the Hapsburg ter-

ritories of their grandfather, Maximilian. Ferdinand was successful, for the diets of both Hungary and Bohemia chose him king. From this time forward the group of possessions over which the Hapsburgs still rule was permanently formed. In his new war Charles was more triumphant than he wished, for his army, under the constable Bourbon, a traitor to Francis, stormed Rome and put it to a sack worse than that centuries before by the Goths and the Vandals. Pope Clement and Francis were obliged to make peace. Charles seized the opportunity to check the spread of Lutheran opinions and to cause suits to be made in the imperial courts to recover Church property which had been taken by the princes and cities. This attempt led to a vigorous protest at the diet of Spires in 1529, made by the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, supported by fourteen Free cities, an act which gave the name Protestant to the Lutheran party.



HENRY VIII.

Son of Henry VII. and of Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. Born at Greenwich, 1491; died at Westminster, 1547. Given the title "Defender of the Faith" by Leo X. for his book against Luther in 1521. Declared by act of parliament in 1534 "supreme head" of the English Church.

207. Henry VIII. breaks with the Papacy. — Charles was troubled by another difficulty. His aunt, Catherine, was the wife of Henry VIII. of England. Unfortunately all her children, save one daughter, had died. Henry was afraid that the old quarrel about the succession to the crown would begin again if he had no sons. He demanded that Pope Clement annul the marriage as unlawful, because Catherine had been his brother's widow. He was urgent about the matter, as he had become enamoured of one of the court ladies. The pope did not dare to comply,

for Charles and Ferdinand swore they would lose their crowns rather than endure such an insult. Henry's revenge was to allow parliament, from 1529 to 1534, to pass laws cutting off Church privileges, the annats, the right of appeal to Rome, and making Henry himself head of the English Church. He did not intend to destroy the unity of the "Faith," of which he had become the "Defender"; but it was difficult for him to carry on his quarrel with the pope without the aid of men who were inclined more and more to Lutheran opinions. In some respects Henry went as far as had the German princes. He abolished all the monasteries, — first the smaller and then the larger ones, — and either gave or sold their lands to men whom he favored.

208. Diet of Augsburg. — In 1530 Charles thought himself strong enough to compel obedience in Germany, and, with this in view, he summoned another diet at Augsburg. There the Lutherans were allowed to read a creed, or confession, which Melanchthon had drawn up in such a way as to give the least possible offence to the Church leaders. Charles would listen to no compromise, and gave the Protestants six months to submit. It was nearly seventeen years before he found leisure to carry out this threat. The same old troubles, the Turks and the French, constantly thwarted him.

209. Francis and the Reformers. — Francis I. had protected the disciples of Lefèvre from the attacks of the university and from the courts, but the disasters of his wars so weakened him that it would have been dangerous to carry such a policy too far. Moreover, he sympathized with them chiefly because they were also Humanists, for their notions of Christian morality were too severe for monarchs of his type. When the partisans of reform began to tear down images and to placard denunciations of the mass, Francis was enraged, and joined heartily in the work of suppression. Finally, about the time when Henry VIII. had broken with the papacy, Francis ceased to parley with the reformers. It was just at this time, also, that the French reformers were to receive a leader and organizer.

210. Calvin, 1509–1564. — John Calvin was not only the leader to whom the French reformers looked for instruction and guidance, he was also to exert a more permanent influence outside France than any other Frenchman that ever lived. He was the founder of the "Reformed" Churches along the Rhine and in Holland. Through his influence with the English religious



CHÂTEAU OF CHENONCEAUX.

One of the most beautiful of the châteaux built in France during the Renaissance. It is situated on the Cher, a river which flows into the Loire near Tours. The principal structure at the left was completed in 1517.

leaders, the English Puritans, and their children in New England, regarded him as their teacher. Since he was born in 1509, he was still a boy when echoes of the Lutheran revolt began to stir France. As a student at Paris and other French universities, he gradually came to believe like Lefèvre and his friends. It was about this time that the placards against the mass, posted by hot-headed fanatics even on the doors of the king's bedchamber, drew down the royal vengeance on all whom the Church branded as heretics. Calvin took refuge in Basel,

and afterward was persuaded by one of Lefevre's disciples, now an ardent Protestant, to aid him in reforming Geneva, which had driven away its bishop and had abolished the mass. Calvin had already in 1535 published his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, in which he interpreted anew the Christian faith and explained how the Church should be ruled. After a bitter struggle his power at Geneva became unassailable, and he transformed the city into the "Rome of Protestantism." He declared, as strongly as did Luther, that in God's sight a man is just only because he has received from God the gift of faith, but he also held that whether a man shall receive this divine gift was determined before the very foundation of the world. Those who felt assured that they had been so chosen gained from this a dignity and courage in comparison with which ordinary earthly dignities were of little importance. It was natural that such men should think themselves capable of managing the Church, and even the State. In this way Calvinism was a force making for democracy and for liberty, although Calvin himself would allow no liberty to those who differed with him. He had occupied his commanding position in Geneva about twenty years, and had thoroughly established his system of Church administration, when the first attempt was made in France to organize the reformed churches into a single body. In spite of the dangers, for Henry II., who had



JOHN CALVIN.

Born at Noyon, Picardy, France, in 1509. Educated at the universities of Paris, Orleans, and Bourges. Retired to Basel in 1534 to escape persecution. First residence in Geneva, 1536-1538. Returned in 1541; died in 1564.

succeeded his father Francis in 1547, was a greater persecutor than his father had been, the delegates of fifty churches met in Paris, in 1559, and drew up a confession of faith and a plan of management.

211. Reformation in England.— Meanwhile the situation in Germany and in England had greatly changed. Henry VIII. had died in 1547, leaving a son, Edward VI., only ten years old. The councillors of the young king, and among them Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, abandoned the policy of King Henry, so that the English Church was not only independent of the pope but became also Protestant in its creed and its forms of worship. It was at this time that the Prayer Book was arranged, and the creed was drawn up which, with slight changes, was to become the Thirty-nine Articles.

212. War and Compromise in Germany.— In Germany the reformers seemed hopelessly ruined. Charles V. had never given up his determination to put down the Lutheran heresy, but he could do nothing until 1547. Luther had died the year before. John Frederick, the elector of Saxony, and Philip, the landgrave of Hesse, were still the political leaders among the Lutherans united in the Schmalkaldic League. Charles took advantage of the enmity between the elector and his relative Maurice, duke of Saxony, and promised Maurice the position of elector in case the League was conquered. The campaign was decided in one battle, but the matter did not end there. Charles attempted to arrange a compromise until everything should be settled in a general council of the Church. This compromise suited no one, least of all Maurice, who was embittered by the way Charles had treated his father-in-law, the landgrave of Hesse. The result was an uprising in 1552, led by Maurice and assisted by Henry II. of France, who did not hate the Lutherans so much that he was reluctant to assist them in crippling his father's old enemy. Henry was allowed to occupy Metz, Toul, and Verdun, cities which were then in the German Empire, although the inhabitants spoke French.



The allies were successful, and Charles himself barely escaped capture. His defeat led first to the Peace of Passau and a little later, in 1555, to the "Religious Settlement," or the Peace of Augsburg. This gave to the princes, or, in the case of cities, to the government, the right to settle whether they and their subjects should be Lutherans or should adhere to the old Church. If a Church prince, bishop or abbot, should become a Lutheran, he must resign his position. It was also decided that all Church property that had been taken by princes before 1552 should not be reclaimed by the Church, but that no more should be so seized or secularized. Evidently such a settlement gave to the princes much more power than they had ever had before. Some persons said that instead of a pope of the old sort they had now got themselves a "Cæsar-pope." The next year Charles V., aged before his time, withdrew to a Spanish monastery, leaving nearly all his lands to his son Philip. His brother Ferdinand became emperor.

213. Reaction in England.— In England also it depended upon the prince what the religion should be. After six years the young Edward died and his sister Mary, daughter of the unhappy Catherine, came to the throne. To her the reformers were doubly hateful, first because they had attacked her faith, but also because it was they who had helped annul her mother's marriage. As Edward's councillors found a parliament to introduce the new beliefs and forms of worship, so Mary found another parliament to undo all this and make heresy a crime. In 1554 she took Philip of Spain, the son of Charles, as her husband. It seemed as if England was added to the forces fighting against the reformers everywhere, and this partly compensated for the emperor's disastrous defeat in Germany. But Mary disgusted Englishmen by causing such distinguished men as Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Latimer, and Bishop Ridley to be burned at the stake. The love of personal liberty protected by law was greater in England than elsewhere. Mary's burnings were few in comparison with the holocausts in Spain, France, and the Netherlands; but they

fixed upon her the hateful title of the "Bloody Queen." As her brother's death had changed the State religion, so her death in 1558, changed it back, for her sister Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, that court lady for whom Henry had repudiated Catherine, was as much bound to support the reformers as Mary the older Church. Upon the rightfulness of the divorce rested her claim to be lawful daughter of the king. No sooner had she mounted the throne than Elizabeth effected a "settlement" of religion. Although she tried to please both the reformers and those who still believed in the older worship, her parliament declared her supreme in Church as well as in State, and provided a legal form of worship to which everybody must conform.

214. The End of the Middle Ages. — Even in France it had become necessary after the death of Henry II. to allow the reformers to meet outside the walled towns. In Italy and Spain alone was the Church able to preserve its unity. The divisions of the western Church were fatal to the mediæval notion that all Christian men were united in one great commonwealth, the ordinary affairs of which were directed by the emperor while the pope guided its spiritual interests. From the failure of the Hohenstaufens to defend their imperial rights the Empire had never recovered. Kingdoms once considered hardly more than vassal states had become strong. Men were grouped as distinct nations. In one of these kingdoms a national Church was founded, and the Empire itself ceased to be wholly loyal to the papacy. These divisions meant another thing. Hitherto men had agreed that the Church had authority to guide the thoughts as well as discipline the conduct of the individual. The Humanists had discovered a method of study, much like that of the ancient Greeks, but they had tried to use it in harmony with the teachings of the Church. The reformers set up other Churches, each claiming authority to teach, but each appealing more and more to reason, so that the judgment of the individual was fast becoming a rival of Church authority in controlling men. What remained un-



settled was where the boundaries should be drawn in Europe between those faithful to the papacy and those who were reorganizing their religious life.

SUMMARY

I. Causes of the Reformation. — 1. Underlying causes: (*a*) need of reforms not secured by "reforming" councils of previous century; (*b*) attitude toward reform revealed in Concordat of Bologna; (*c*) Erasmus and other Humanists undermine traditional teaching; (*d*) greater emphasis on the New Testament as source of religious knowledge. 2. Occasion: (*a*) penitential system; (*b*) danger of abuses; (*c*) sale of indulgences in Germany.

II. Lutheran Revolt. — 1. Luther: (*a*) his criticism of indulgences; (*b*) gradual change in his religious views; (*c*) excommunicated; (*d*) his refusal to submit to Church authority; (*e*) detaches his cause from cause of peasants; (*f*) spread of his ideas among princes and in Free cities. 2. Things which helped save Lutherans from destruction: (*a*) protection of princes; (*b*) attitude of princes and cities at Spires; (*c*) League of Schmalkald; (*d*) rivalries of Charles V. and the French kings; (*e*) quarrel of Charles and the pope; (*f*) opposition on part of princes to any strong assertion of imperial power.

III. Reform in Other Lands. — 1. Lutheranism in Sweden and Denmark, in Prussia. 2. Zwingli and the Zurich Reformation. 3. England: (*a*) quarrel of Henry VIII. and the pope; (*b*) English Church separated from Church of Rome. 4. France: (*a*) attitude of Francis I.; (*b*) Calvin; (*c*) social meaning of his teachings.

IV. Beginnings of New Churches. — 1. Lutheran: (*a*) Luther's changes in manner of worship; (*b*) his ideas on the Eucharist; (*c*) Augsburg Confession; (*d*) disposition of Church territories and property in Germany. 2. Organization of Reformed Churches in France. 3. Reforms in England under Edward VI., Prayer Book, and Thirty-nine Articles.

V. Defence of the Church. — 1. Attitude of Francis I. and Henry II. in France. 2. Charles V. in the Netherlands. 3. Germany: (*a*) victory of Charles over the Lutherans; (*b*) his use of victory; (*c*) revolt of Maurice of Saxony; (*d*) religious settlement. 4. Catholic restoration in England: (*a*) means; (*b*) discredited by severity; (*c*) disappears with Mary.

IMPORTANT DATES

1516. Concordat of Bologna. Erasmus publishes his Greek Testament.
1517. Protest of Luther against sale of indulgences.
1519. Charles V. becomes emperor.
1521. Diet at Worms; Luther defies authority.
1524. Outbreak of Peasants' Revolt in southern Germany.
1529. Protest of Spires.
1530. Augsburg Confession read at diet of Augsburg.
1534. English Church separated from Church of Rome.
1535. Calvin publishes his *Institutes*.
1547. Defeat of the Lutherans by Charles V. Death of Henry VIII. and Francis I.
1555. Religious Settlement in Germany by Peace of Augsburg.
1556. Abdication of Charles V.
1558. Elizabeth, queen of England.
1559. Organization of Reformed Churches in France.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: in addition to the histories of the different states, Johnson's *Europe in the Sixteenth Century;* Seebohm's *Protestant Revolution;* Fisher's or Walker's *Reformation;* longer treatments in Schaff's *Christian Church*, Vols. VI. and VII.; Alzog, Vol. III.; Jannsen, Vols. III.–VI.; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. II.; special chapters in Adams, *Civilization*, and in Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*.

PARAGRAPHS: —

194. Condition of the Church: see **162–165, 168**, and references.

196, 205. Erasmus: Emerton's or Froude's *Erasmus*, including many selections from writings and letters; Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers;* on Greek Testament, Seebohm, Ch. 11.

197. Indulgences: *Cambridge Modern History*, II., 124–128; Alzog, II., 795–799, 1056–1058.

198. Luther's Protest: the occasion, Creighton, V., 56 ff.; Jannsen, III., 78 ff.; Luther's early experience, Beard, Ch. 4; the text of the Theses, *Tr. and Rp.*, II., No. 6, 5–12.

199. Luther and the Pope: Fisher, *Reformation*, 96–102; Creighton, V., 69 ff.; Jannsen, III., 97 ff.; Luther's early writings in Bucheim, *Luther's Primary Works*.

200. Charles V.; the diet of Worms and its consequences, Johnson, 158–160; Armstrong, I., Ch. 4; see genealogy below.

PARAGRAPHS: —

201, 202. Revolution in Germany: Seebohm, *Protestant Revolution*, 135–154; *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, II., 177–192.

203. Reform in Other Lands: in the north, Haüsser, Chs. 11, 12; *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, II., Ch. 17; in France, Baird, I., Ch. 2.

204. Switzerland: Fisher, 136–156; *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, II., Ch. 10; Jackson, *Zwingli.*

206, 208. The Wars: Johnson, 172–176, 181–200.

207. Henry VIII.: Gardiner, Chs. 25, 26; Gairdner, Chs. 7–12, or his Ch. 13 in *Camb. Mod. Hist.*; Colby, Nos. 56–58; Kendall, 47, 48.

209, 210. Calvin: Baird, I., Ch. 6; *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, Ch. 11.

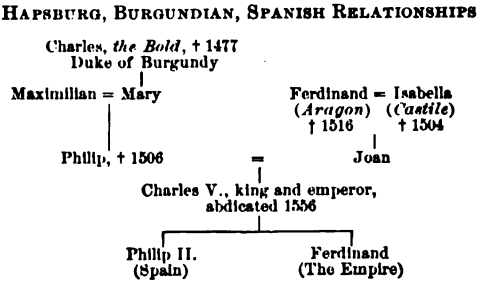
211, 213. Reform and Reaction in England: *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, Chs. 14, 15; Gairdner; Kendall, Nos. 49–50.

212. Settlement in Germany: Johnson, 242–252; Bryce, Ch. 18; Jannsen, VI., 520 ff.

214. France: Kitchin, II., 310.

Additional Reading: Ranke, *History of the Popes;* Baird, *Rise of the Huguenots;* Froude, *History of England*, 12 vols.; Gairdner, *History of the English Church from Henry VIII. to Mary;* Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers;* Gasquet, *The Eve of the Reformation;* Haüsser, *Period of the Reformation;* biographies of Luther, by Beard, Köstlin, Jacobs; of Zwingli, by Jackson; of Charles V., by Armstrong.

HAPSBURG, BURGUNDIAN, SPANISH RELATIONSHIPS

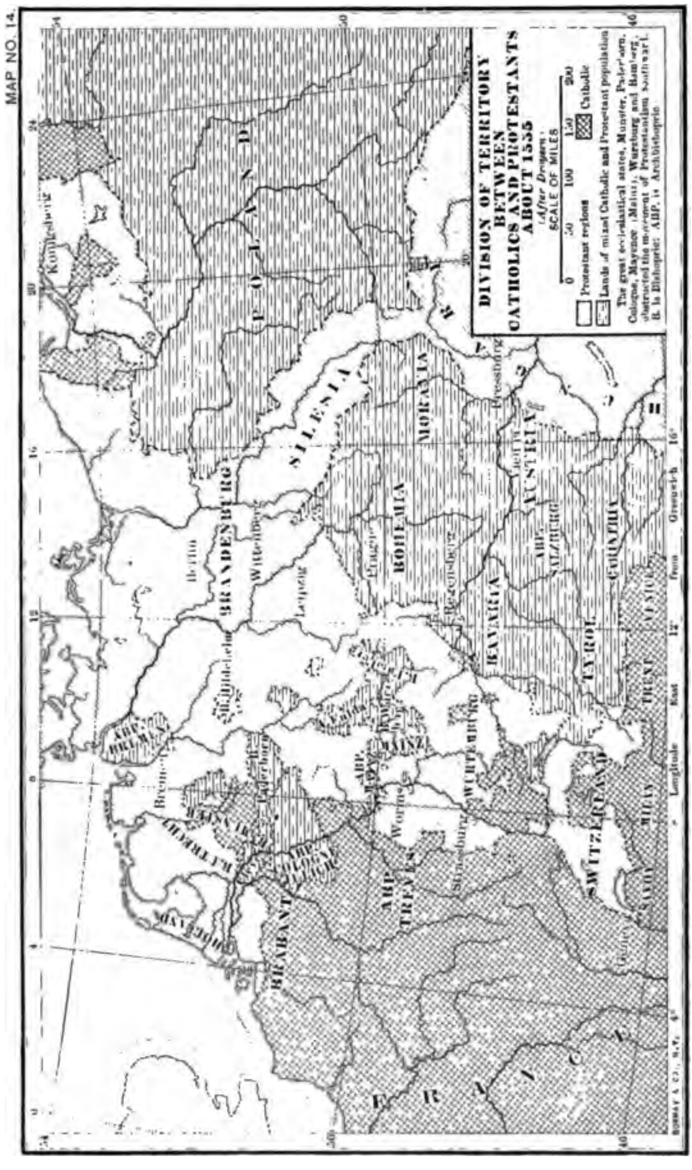


CHAPTER XIII.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE FAITHS

215. Peace or War within the Church. — Although the German religious peace of 1555 and the French edicts in favor of the Calvinists implied that it was no longer possible to keep the western Church united under the control of the papacy, these agreements did not mean that the religious conflicts were over. They did little more than mark the distance the revolt had advanced, filling the Protestants with confidence that they could do still more, and revealing to the Church leaders the extent of the ground that must be recovered. The papal party had not given up hope of bringing even England back to obedience. In the terms of the German "settlement" there was a spur to Lutheran ambition and to Catholic zeal. If the religion of the State must be that of the prince, it was all-important to win the princes. The fate of southern and western Germany, and of Austria, Styria, and Carniola, was at stake in the contest. In France it was impossible for the Calvinists to control the State, but they might win a secure position within it. England became more and more the champion of Protestantism, while Spain attempted not only to destroy all heresies within her borders but sought to crush the French Calvinists and to conquer England. With her defeat came the loss of her Dutch provinces.

216. The Council of Trent. — The Church had already recovered from its early defeats, and, driven by the sense of danger, had seriously undertaken that "reform in head and members" which Christians had hitherto vainly demanded. A council had been opened at Trent, on the borders of Italy,


MAP NO. 14.
DIVISION OF TERRITORY
BETWEEN
CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS
ABOUT 1555
(After Droysen)
SCALE OF MILES
Protestant regions
Catholic
POLAND
SILESIA
MORAVIA
BOHEMIA
BRANDENBURG
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
TYROL
SWITZERLAND
BRABANT
MAINZ
WURTEMBURG
Berlin
Wittenberg
Leipzig
Worms
Strassburg
FRANCE

in 1545, but because of quarrels between the princes and the pope it was constantly interrupted and completed its work only in 1563. For the first time all the doctrines of the Church were set forth briefly and plainly and were sanctioned by the pope. A sharp line was drawn between Church orthodoxy and Protestant heresy. At the same time evils which had crept into the manner of obtaining or holding important Church offices were corrected. The council tried to check abuses in the practice of granting indulgences, though it insisted that the custom went back to the time of the apostles. A little later Pope Pius V. applied a more effective remedy by forbidding the grant of indulgences for raising money, and their distribution by special preachers or pardoners.

217. The Papal Reformation. — When the princes demanded that the council should reform the "head," that is, the papacy, the council referred the matter to the papacy itself. This meant no postponement of the task, for after 1555 the popes were quite as earnest in reform as any of the members of the council. They corrected abuses, making Protestant reproaches lose point, and took measures to check the beginnings of heresy or to destroy it where it had not gained strength enough to be successfully defiant. One of their instruments was the Inquisition, or special court for the trial of heretics. Conviction before this court generally sent the accused to the stake. Another was the Index, an ever lengthening list of books which obedient Catholics were forbidden to read. Furthermore, no obedient Catholic could publish a book touching matters of religion without the permission of the Church. The most successful instrument of counter-reformation was a new religious order, called the Society of Jesus. This order had at first been a little group of young men, gathered about Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish soldier, who had recovered from wounds received in battle only to enlist in a war against heresy. It was sanctioned by the papacy in 1540. The members obeyed their leaders and the pope so unhesitatingly that they became the most formidable body of defenders the Church had ever



THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.
From a painting in the Louvre ascribed to Titian.

had. They did not shut themselves up in monasteries, but went about preaching, founding schools, and teaching in the universities. It was largely due to their efforts that the Church was successful in winning back a part of its lost ground.

218. Philip II., 1556–1598. — In this warfare the leader was the king of Spain, Philip II. Ferdinand, Charles's brother, who became emperor, was too anxious to conciliate his Protestant subjects to play the part. Although Philip did not put the interests of the Church before those of his kingdom, the cause for which he was fighting was, oftener than in his father's case, the cause of the Church. He held all the territories that Charles had directly controlled, — Spain, Sicily, Naples, Milan, the county of Burgundy, and the Netherlands. He also inherited from his father a vast empire in the Americas, which had already been conquered and organized by Cortez, Pizarro, and their followers. These lands were treated as if they belonged to the monarch himself, and their tribute in gold and silver could be used to pay his armies. No rival nation — except Portugal which owned Brazil — could send its traders or colonists into the American seas to profit by the riches of the new world. To rule over so many states with different customs was a task too great for Philip. No king ever worked harder for the welfare of his states. Unfortunately,



PHILIP II.

Born at Valladolid, 1527; died at the Escorial, the monastery-palace 27 miles northwest of Madrid, 1598. Became duke of Milan in 1540, king of Naples and Sicily in 1554, ruler of the Netherlands in 1555, king of Spain and its dependencies in 1556.

he attempted to rule them all as if they were like Spain. After he returned to Spain from the Netherlands in 1559 he never left the country. Every day he spent many hours at his desk reading the despatches of his agents or the reports of his councillors, and writing his own comments on the margins. He hated heresy so deeply that he declared he would prefer to lose all his provinces rather than leave it unpunished. His arrival in Spain and a little later his marriage were fittingly celebrated by *autos da fé*, or "acts of faith," at which many heretics were burned. His most pitiful victims were the Moriscoes or Moors of Granada, who since their forced conversion to Christianity by Ferdinand had turned out to be neither good Christians nor good Spaniards. Philip ordered them to abandon their national dress, change their customs, and learn to speak only Castilian. Such measures drove them to revolt, and for this the survivors of the new war of conquest were scattered through the other provinces of Spain. If Philip could so treat an industrious people living quietly in Spain, he was unlikely to be considerate of the privileges of the burghers of Flanders and Holland when they fell into heresy.

219. Reaction in Germany. — Immediately after the council of Trent closed, the struggle for Germany was renewed with vigor. The Lutheran cause had been protected by princes like the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse; the Catholics now found a champion in the duke of Bavaria. He intrusted the education of the young to the Jesuits, caused Protestant books to be burned, literally in heaps, and drove Protestants from his lands. Immediate action was necessary, for the Bavarian assemblies or diets had recently demanded the abolition of fasts, permission to priests to marry, and the right of the laity to receive both the bread and the wine at the communion. Austria was in much the same condition. Even the territories of the bishops of Bamberg and Wurzburg, north of Bavaria, were filled with Lutherans. Some years later, in 1582, the archbishop of Cologne, who had determined to marry, declared himself a Lutheran, in order to retain his position.

Had the Protestant princes given him timely support, he might have held Cologne for the Protestant party. Since three of the seven electors of the Empire — Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Rhenish Palatinate — were Protestants, such a change would have given a majority to the Protestants and might have led to the choice of a Lutheran emperor or to still greater concessions to the Lutherans and Calvinists. The vigorous measures of the duke of Bavaria, of the archbishop of Mainz, the bishop of Wurzburg, and other princes, followed by similar acts in Austria, threw a barrier before the southward extension of Lutheranism. Baden was regained through the conversion of its young prince. As the Lutherans failed to obtain Cologne, that territory and the bishoprics of Paderborn and Münster held the west for the Catholics. With the exception of the Palatinate, where Calvinistic views were held, the Protestants were gradually driven from the south, and lines of division were drawn which were to become permanent.



QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn. Born at Greenwich, September 7, 1533; died at Richmond, March 24, 1603.

220. The Struggle farther West. — While this German battle was slowly fought out, chiefly by Jesuit teachers and their Lutheran or Calvinistic adversaries, a far more dreadful struggle convulsed France, the Netherlands, England, Scotland, and Spain. Elizabeth had ascended the English throne in 1558, just before the death of Henry II. of France. Scotland, the old ally of France, was ruled by a regent, Mary of Guise, widow of

James V. Her daughter, Mary Stuart, was married to the French dauphin, Francis. For this reason Philip quietly looked on when Elizabeth undid the work done by him and by Queen Mary of England to restore the authority of the pope in England. Any attempt to keep Elizabeth from the throne would help the only other near heir, Mary Stuart, great-granddaughter of Henry VII., and if she became queen of England, as well as of France and Scotland, France, the enemy of his father's house, would become strong enough to lay covetous hands upon the Netherlands. The danger became all the greater when Henry II. died, for the new king, Francis II., was completely under Mary Stuart's control.

221. Scotland. — So far as Scotland was concerned the situation changed, for, led by strong Calvinists like John Knox, the Scots were eager to throw off the control of the Church and organize a Church of their own. The nobles did not care much for the new doctrines; but, like the English nobles, they hoped to be enriched with monastery lands, and readily supported Knox. In defiance of the regent they threw off the pope's authority and forbade persons to attend the mass, threatening them with death for the third offence. The regent could not hope to quell the rebels unless she received help from France. This the French readily sent, but Elizabeth immediately interfered. It was too likely that the army which should put down the Scottish Protestants would be used to drive her from the English throne and seat Queen Mary Stuart upon it. She, accordingly, sent help to the Scottish lords in 1560, and, with them, compelled the French to leave Scotland and to acknowledge her as queen of England. Shortly afterward Francis II. died, and Mary Stuart was obliged to return to Scotland to govern an unruly kingdom.

222. Civil War in France. — When Francis II. died, his brother Charles was too young to rule, and his mother, Catherine de' Medici, became regent. It was not possible to treat the Calvinists, who about this time began to be called Huguenots, as severely as her husband, Henry II., had treated them,

for many powerful nobles were adopting the reformed doctrines. Among these were the duke of Bourbon who had married the queen of Navarre, and his brother the prince of Condé. Gradually the real leader of the party came to be Coligny, a member of the noble Montmorency family, who with his two brothers, one of them a cardinal, had become "reformers." The chiefs of the Catholic party were the uncles of Mary Stuart, the duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal of Lorraine. Queen Catherine attempted to preserve her control of affairs by playing one party off against the other, but she satisfied neither the Huguenots nor their enemies. The government was not strong enough to treat both parties justly and with firmness, and so civil war was inevitable. The trouble began in 1562 with the massacre of some Huguenots who were gathered for worship in a granary at the little town of Vassy. As the news spread through the country the Huguenots rose everywhere and organized armies. Queen Elizabeth sent them assistance, and Philip aided the Guises. The Huguenots were not fighting against the king, but simply against the Guise party, although because this party controlled the government the Huguenots were nominally rebels. Many nobles joined them in order to drive the Guises from power or in the hope of gaining something for themselves when peace was made. This was the first of a series of short wars. The first and second each lasted about six months, the third nearly two years. Each peace was much like its predecessors, and gave the Huguenots the right to worship in one town of each bailiwick, as well as in the towns they held when the peace was signed. The last peace, made at St. Germain in 1570, gave them also four fortified cities in which the governors and the garrisons should be under their control.

223. Trouble in the Netherlands. — While the Huguenots were fighting for toleration in France, they anxiously watched a similar struggle in the Netherlands. This name covered seventeen provinces which Charles V. had either inherited



from his Burgundian grandmother or which he had added during his long reign. They included what is now Holland and Belgium, and some territory since annexed to France. Charles had attempted to give them a single administration and to attach them to the Empire as the Circle of Burgundy. The provinces were stubborn in the defence of their ancient privileges, especially when Charles demanded money and men for his interminable wars. What aroused still greater resentment was the terrible zeal he showed in stamping out heresy. Edict after edict, "written in blood, not in ink," caused thousands to be beheaded, burned, or buried alive. The early Lutherans were decimated. Many of them fled to England or to Germany. Somewhat later Protestantism again began to make headway, coming from France under Calvinistic leadership. When Charles abdicated in 1556 he left a heavy burden of trouble for his son. At the stately ceremony by which he laid down his crown at Brussels he supported himself upon the shoulder of the young William, prince of Orange, who was to be his son's greatest enemy, chiefly because Philip faithfully tried to continue Charles's cruel intolerance.

224. Revolt of the Netherlands. — Under Philip the lot of the Netherlanders grew worse, for he undertook to govern the country through favorites. When the older bishoprics were divided into smaller dioceses and given a better organization, they suspected that this would make the Inquisition only more dangerous. The nobles were irritated that their places of influence had been taken by upstarts. When remonstrances were not enough, in 1566, they made a solemn agreement to stand by one another, and presented their grievances to the regent, Philip's sister. Shortly afterward popular fury burst all bounds and mobs rushed into the churches, destroying windows, images of saints, sculptures, everything which symbolized the power responsible for their sufferings. Order was temporarily restored through a withdrawal of the hated edicts. Philip's vengeance was terrible. He sent a pitiless soldier, the duke of Alva, who executed distinguished noblemen and cov-

ered the country with gibbets. At first this reign of terror was effective. A revolt, led by William of Orange, failed; but Alva increased the number of his enemies by establishing a tax, called the "tenth penny," upon all sales. This rendered business impossible and drove the merchants to support the discontented nobles. The revolt became general in 1572 when some refugees, who had maintained themselves on the sea with Queen Elizabeth's aid, seized Brill and held it against Philip's troops. The provinces of Holland and Zeeland declared for Prince William, who had raised another army. His brother, who had aided the Huguenots, led an army partly composed of them into the southern Netherlands. The chances of success seemed bright when terrible news came from Paris.

225. St. Bartholomew, 1572. — Ever since the Peace of St. Germain, Coligny had been trying to persuade Charles IX. to take advantage of King Philip's difficulties in the Netherlands in order to win back some of the territory in Flanders and Artois which had once belonged to France. Coligny also had not forgiven the Spaniards for the destruction of his colony at Fort Caroline in Florida a few years before. Charles IX. listened to this advice and prepared ships and men, but hesitated to begin the struggle with so formidable a foe. Everything that was done was reported to Philip by persons in his pay at the French court. The queen-mother, Catherine, feared that Coligny would control the king, and, aided by the Guises, plotted his assassination. The attempt was a failure; Coligny was only wounded, and it seemed likely that the king would avenge the blow. It happened that there were in Paris many Huguenots who had come to attend the marriage of Henry of Navarre, son of Anthony of Bourbon, and the king's sister. Catherine persuaded the king that they were plotting against him and urged him to consent to the murder of their leading men. In a moment of passion he cried out that all the Huguenots should be killed in order that none might live to reproach him for the deed. The next morning was St. Bartholomew's day, the 24th of August. Between two and three o'clock the

tocsin was sounded by the church bells, and Catholic nobles, royal troops, and Paris militia fell upon the unsuspecting Huguenots and slew them in their houses or as they fled through the streets or tried to swim the Seine. Before the killing was over at least two thousand had been slain. In the provinces, six thousand more victims were added to the blood-stained list. This was a terrible blow, not only to the Huguenots but also to the Netherlanders. Queen Elizabeth and her court went into mourning. It was a triumph for the king of Spain.



GASPARD DE COLIGNY.

Born at Châtillon-sur-Loing, 1517; killed at Paris, August 24, 1572. Nephew of the constable Anne de Montmorency. Knighted in 1544, admiral of France in 1552. Organizer of the ill-fated Ribault colony on the coast of Florida. This monument is built into the apse of the church of the Oratoire and faces the Louvre from which the orders for the massacre of St. Bartholomew came.

226. The Rise of the Dutch Republic. — This triumph proved to be brief. The violence of Alva and the cruelties of his soldiers had brought both Catholics and Protestants together to save the country from ruin. By the Pacification of Ghent in 1576 both parties agreed to furnish soldiers to expel the Spanish troops. The Calvinists of Holland and Zeeland were promised freedom of worship, and William of Orange was made lieutenant of the king, for all assumed that they were loyal subjects, simply defending their privileges. Meanwhile Alva had been recalled and other generals came, one after

another, to take his place. Their chance of success lay in the feeling among the southern provinces that the Calvinists would use the agreement to overthrow the Church in the Netherlands. Within three years these southern provinces had been united in a league, while the more northern provinces, under the leadership of Holland, made the "Union of Utrecht." The northern or Dutch provinces finally declared Philip II. deposed and sought to find a king elsewhere, in France, in Germany, or in England. Their real ruler was William of Orange, who shortly after the massacre of St. Bartholomew had declared himself a Calvinist. King Philip offered twenty thousand golden crowns and a title of nobility to any one who would rid him of so obstinate an enemy. The lure proved irresistible to fanatical minds, and William was shot in 1584. This blow seemed even more fatal than St. Bartholomew.

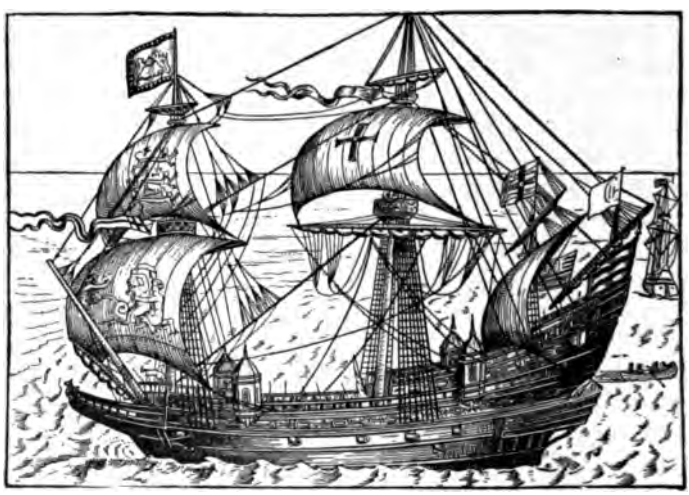
227. Elizabeth and Mary. — By compassing the murder of the prince of Orange, Philip only strengthened his enemies. Elizabeth had at first felt little sympathy for the Netherlanders, but the triumph of Philip might mean her own ruin. Ever since 1568 her rival, Mary Stuart, had been a refugee and really a prisoner in England. In her own kingdom Queen Mary had been the centre of a network of plots. She had been accused of being privy to the assassination of her second husband, Lord Darnley, and she gave color to the charge by marrying his murderer, the earl of Bothwell. For this reason she had been deposed and her infant son James had been made king. Elizabeth hesitated whether to keep her, to send her back to Scotland, or to allow her to cross over to France. Since Mary had not abandoned her claim to the English throne, her friends plotted to kill Elizabeth in order that she might become queen and restore the old faith. The danger increased when the pope excommunicated Elizabeth and declared that her subjects were released from their oath of obedience. Spies informed the government that Philip had promised his assistance to the conspirators. Parliament retaliated by declaring those who remained faithful to the pope and who worshipped

after the ancient Catholic manner to be traitors. They were called "recusants," because they refused to take an oath acknowledging the queen's supremacy in the English Church. When the news of William's murder reached England, all Englishmen, Catholics as well as Protestants, rallied about the queen. They formed an association and swore that if Elizabeth should be murdered, she in whose interest this deed was done should never live to mount the throne. A little later another plot against Elizabeth was unearthed, and it was believed that Mary Stuart had encouraged the conspirators. Mary was tried and condemned, but Elizabeth hesitated to allow the sentence to be carried out. Her councillors were more firm, and Mary was executed early in 1587. This made war with Spain inevitable.

228. The Invincible Armada, 1588. — English seamen had not been terrified at the approach of war with Spain. In defiance of the Spaniards they had repeatedly sought to trade along the coast of America, attracted by tales of the wealth in gold and silver which Philip was drawing from the mines of Mexico and Peru. Francis Drake, one of the boldest of them, declared to a Spaniard, "I am resolved by the help of God to reap some of the golden harvest which you have got out of the earth and sent to Spain to trouble the earth." In 1577 Drake sailed through the Straits of Magellan into the Pacific, plundered the Spanish treasure ships, and sailed home by the Cape of Good Hope. When Philip had gathered a great fleet, which he called the Invincible Armada, Drake sailed into his ports and "singed the king's beard" by burning his store-ships. Philip's plan was to proceed to the Netherlands, embark an army, and force a landing in England. His ships were larger than the English ships, and he believed victory certain. But the English ships had heavier guns and were swifter. As soon as the Spaniards appeared in the Channel the English harassed them and drove them northward. A great tempest prevented the English from continuing the pursuit. The Spaniards attempted to reach home by sailing

around Scotland and Ireland, but many ships were wrecked. Although the ships which were lost were chiefly transports or store-ships, Philip did not attempt to reorganize the attack. England was safe.

229. The Age of Elizabeth. — The defeat of the Armada is only one of the many things for which the reign of Elizabeth



ARMADA SHIP.

The strongest ships of the English fleet were like the *Triumph:* tonnage, 1000; four masts. Armament: 4 cannon, 8 in., 60 pounders; 3 demi-cannon, 6¾ in., 33 pounders; 17 culverins, 5½ in., 18 pounders; 8 demi-culverins, 4 in., 9 pounders; besides 36 smaller guns, — sakers, falconets, and serpentines. The complement of men was 700 seamen, gunners, and soldiers.

is remembered. Her architects and builders, her writers of prose and of poetry, added to her glory. Houses became more open and comfortable, with larger windows. Some of them were constructed in the shape of the letter E, in order to compliment the queen. It was at this time that Edmund Spenser wrote his *Faerie Queene*, that Shakespeare began to put his great plays on the stage, and that Francis Bacon advocated basing scientific knowledge upon the careful study of nature. Eliza-

beth died in 1603 and was succeeded by King James of Scotland, the son of the ill-fated Mary Stuart.

230. New Wars in France. — Ever since the massacre of St. Bartholomew, civil war had been raging intermittently in France. Charles IX. had died and was succeeded by his brother, Henry III. As he had no children, the Catholic League was already plotting to exclude from the throne the next of kin, the Huguenot Henry of Navarre. Between the Huguenots on the one hand and the League on the other was a growing body of patriotic Frenchmen, themselves Catholics, who deemed the political interests of France more important than quarrels about religion, and who were called the *Politiques*, or Politicians. Henry III. tried for a while to play one party off against the other, according to his mother's plan. When this failed, in 1588, he caused the assassination of the leader of the League, another duke of Guise, and of his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine. He joined Henry of Navarre in 1589 and marched upon Paris, but when he reached the neighborhood he was murdered by a fanatical priest who had come out of the city for this purpose.

231. Henry IV., 1589–1610. — If the ordinary law of succession was obeyed, Henry of Navarre must now be king; but the Leaguers, backed by the king of Spain, swore that they never would recognize him. Although many of the Politicians rallied to him, Henry's task was almost too great, for the Spanish king ordered his ablest general, Alexander of Parma, to break off his campaign in the Netherlands and help the League. This relieved the Netherlanders, who had found a new general in Prince William's son, Maurice. Parma's genius in war twice deprived Henry of Navarre of advantages won by hard fighting. Henry concluded that the only way to bring all moderate men to his side and to defeat the schemes of Philip and the Leaguers was to return to the old Church, renouncing his Huguenot heresies. In 1593 he took this "great plunge," as he called it. The result was that all serious opposition melted away. Paris opened her gates. He soon felt himself

strong enough to make war upon Spain, which had so long been meddling in the troubles of Frenchmen. He formed a triple alliance with England and with the United Provinces, whose independence he recognized. After three years, Spain was forced to make peace and give up all the French towns she held.



HENRY IV. OF FRANCE.

A bas-relief on the wall of the castle of Arques, near Dieppe, representing Henry IV. as victor at the battle fought near by, September 21, 1589. The bas-relief was unveiled on the anniversary of the victory, September 21, 1845.

232. The Edict of Nantes.— Meanwhile Henry's Huguenot followers had watched him suspiciously and were prepared to defend their privileges by force. It was time to settle the religious question. This he did in the Edict of Nantes. In a sense the Edict was a compromise with a minority too strong to be coerced, but it was, nevertheless, a noble grant of toleration, the first made by any modern State. Henceforth the Huguenots could dwell peaceably in all parts of France; equally with the Catholics they had a right to be employed in all civil



and military offices; cases in which their interests were involved were tried in special courts in which they were represented on the bench. Although they could not worship in Paris and a few other towns, they could build their "temples" in the suburbs. The king also granted them the dangerous right to hold political assemblies in which memorials to the government might be drawn up and to maintain garrisons in certain fortresses at his expense.

233. The End of Philip II., 1598. — A few months after peace was made between France and Spain Philip died. His kingdom was in ruins, crushed under the burdens laid upon it by him and by his father in order that they might control Europe and check the spread of heresy. Millions had been drawn from the mines of America, only to be spent in endless wars. The Spaniards, thinking themselves rich because such large sums poured into their country, learned to disdain industry. Even their trade with America fell into the hands of foreign merchants acting through Spanish agents. Agriculture was neglected and large quantities of wheat had to be imported from France. The riches belonged to the Church and to a few great nobles. There was no middle class between clergy or noblemen living in luxury and the people wretchedly eking out a bare existence. The population was declining at an alarming rate. The same miseries threatened that part of the Netherlands which had been reconquered by the Spanish generals. Whole streets in Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp stood empty, for artisans and merchants had fled to Holland or to England to escape the terrors of the Inquisition. In the fields packs of wolves wandered undisturbed. Meanwhile the United Provinces in the north were becoming prosperous and strong. Amsterdam was three times as large as it had been at the beginning of the troubles. In 1609 Spain was obliged to sign a Twelve Years' Truce, practically acknowledging their independence.

SUMMARY

I. Reorganization of the Church. — 1. Council of Trent: (*a*) defines belief; (*b*) removes abuses. 2. Reforms undertaken by popes.

II. Means of Recovery. — 1. Society of Jesus: (*a*) founder; (*b*) nature of work. 2. Inquisition. 3. Index. 4. Support of princes like Philip II. and the duke of Bavaria.

III. Tide of Battle in Germany. — 1. Southward extension of Lutheranism. 2. Strategic importance of western and southern bishoprics. 3. Action of Bavarian duke. 4. Results.

IV. The Struggle farther West. — 1. Close connection of the affairs of England, Scotland, France, and Spain from 1558 to 1560. 2. Civil wars in France: (*a*) Huguenots and Guises; (*b*) causes of war; (*c*) character of struggle; (*d*) nature of peace terms; (*e*) St. Bartholomew; (*f*) later character of struggle. 3. Netherlands: (*a*) what the Netherlands were; (*b*) severities of Charles V.; (*c*) danger to local liberties; (*d*) policy of Alva; (*e*) seizure of Brill; (*f*) relation between struggle and the Huguenot cause in France; (*g*) northern and southern provinces separated; (*h*) origin of Dutch republic. 4. England and Spain: (*a*) Philip's early attitude toward Elizabeth; (*b*) danger from partisans of Mary Stuart, especially after Elizabeth was excommunicated by pope; (*c*) effect upon Englishmen of assassination of William of Orange; (*d*) consequences of Mary's execution; (*e*) why Philip's Armada failed.

V. Results. — 1. England became bulwark of Protestantism. 2. Compromise in France, Edict of Nantes. 3. Germany divided according to will of princes. 4. The northern half of the Netherlands lost to Spain. 5. Exhaustion of Spain.

IMPORTANT DATES

1556. Philip II., king of Spain.
1558. Elizabeth, queen of England.
1562. Beginning of civil wars in France.
1563. End of council of Trent.
1572. Capture of Brill; massacre of St. Bartholomew.
1579. Union of Utrecht.
1584. Assassination of William of Orange.
1587. Execution of Mary Stuart.
1588. Armada.



1593. Henry IV. abjures Reformed faith.
1598. Edict of Nantes. Death of Philip II.
1603. Death of Elizabeth.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: histories of separate states; Johnson, *Sixteenth Century;* Creighton, *Age of Elizabeth;* Haüsser, *Period of the Reformation.*

PARAGRAPHS: —

216, 217. The Papal Reformation: Johnson, 261–276; *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, II., 33–34, Ch. 18; Alzog, III., 340 ff.; Hughes, *Loyola;* Ranke, *History of the Popes;* decrees of Trent, *Tr. and Rp.*, II., No. 6.

218. Philip II.: brief biography by Hume; Kendall, No. 60.

219. Reaction in Germany: Haüsser, Chs. 30, 31.

220, 221. Scotland: Hume Brown, II., 1–126; *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, II., Ch. 16.

222, 225. Civil War in France: Kitchin, II., 311 ff.; massacre of St. Bartholomew, Baird, *Rise of the Huguenots*, II., Ch. 18; *Tr. and Rp.*, III., No. 3, 16 ff.

224, 226. The Netherlands: Johnson, Ch. VIII.; Hume, *Philip II.;* Harrison, *William the Silent;* Blok, III., 1 ff.; Motley.

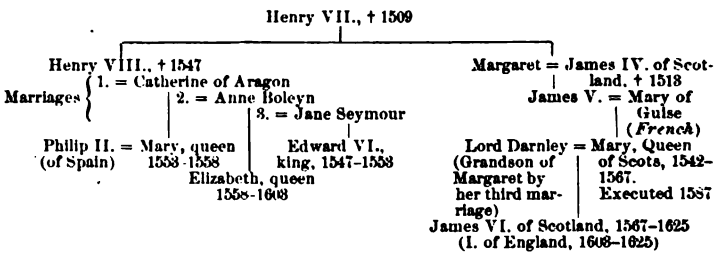
227. Elizabeth and Mary: Colby, No. 63; Kendall, Nos. 53–58; Henderson, *Side Lights*, groups 1 and 2; for a specimen of the laws against the Catholics, see Prothero, *Statutes and Constitutional Documents*, 74 ff.; see also Lingard, *History of England*, VII., 316 ff., VIII., 59, 77, 147; see genealogy of Tudors and Stuarts below.

228. The Armada: Kendall, No. 59; Lee, Nos. 140–141, 144–147; Colby, No. 61; Henderson, *Side Lights*, group 3.

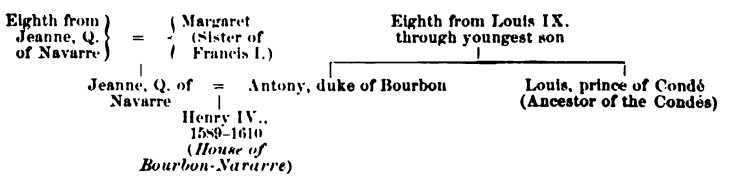
230, 232. France and Henry IV.: Adams, *Growth of the French Nation;* biography by Willert; Edict of Nantes, *Tr. and Rp.*, III., No. 3, pp. 30 ff.

Additional Reading: Ranke, *History of the Popes*, 3 vols.; Ranke, *Latin and Teutonic Nations;* Baird, *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre*, 2 vols.; Symonds, *The Catholic Reaction* (abridged in chapter of Pearson's edition); Henderson, *Side Lights on English History.*

THE HEIRS OF HENRY VII.



TO ILLUSTRATE THE CLAIM OF HENRY IV. TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE THROUGH THE YOUNGEST SON OF LOUIS IX., AND TO THE CROWN OF NAVARRE, THROUGH JEANNE, DAUGHTER OF LOUIS X.





CHAPTER XIV.

THE LAST WARS OF RELIGION

234. The Expansion of Europe. — As the sixteenth century had seen the acquisition by Spain and Portugal of vast colonial empires, the first chiefly in the Americas, the other chiefly in Africa and Asia, so the seventeenth century was to see the English, the Dutch, and the French establish colonies either on the ruins of Spanish and Portuguese ventures or in lands hitherto unexplored. Settlements and trading stations were made on the coast or along the rivers of North America, on the shores of India, and among the Malay Islands. Henceforward Europe was to have constantly increasing interests beyond its own borders, and, instead of being barely able to defend itself upon the narrow peninsula stretching between the Mediterranean and the northern seas, it was to push back steadily the confines of barbarism or of rival civilizations until the day when it should dominate the earth. As this work was done by piecemeal, and by different peoples at different times, its importance was at first little understood. The European states had their own troubles, which often took all their attention. In England there was a struggle between king and parliament over the question whether parliamentary privileges or royal prerogatives were the stronger. In Germany the old religious question provoked a terrible civil war before it was finally settled. France was chiefly interested in using the quarrels of her neighbors to increase her own power and territory. She was bent upon humbling her Hapsburg enemies, whether in Spain or in Austria.

235. Trading Companies. — None of the three nations — the English, the French, and the Dutch — was able before the beginning of the seventeenth century to take an important part in the struggle for possessions beyond the seas. During the Middle Ages English trade had been generally in the hands of foreign merchants. In the sixteenth century Englishmen took hold of it themselves. The merchants were organized into companies, to each of which the government granted the privilege or monopoly of conducting all the trade with certain countries. The Merchant Adventurers, the richest of them, controlled the export of cloth to the Netherlands and to northwestern Germany. Until the latter part of the sixteenth century the Dutch were content with the ordinary European trade. They sailed to Lisbon for the spices which the Portuguese had brought from the East, and carried them to the other ports of Europe. When, in 1580, Lisbon was seized by Philip II., against whom they were fighting, they were forced to make the voyage to the Indies themselves. At the opening of the seventeenth century both the English and the Dutch were organizing East India companies, which were to win splendid empires for them. After a time the Dutch drove from the Spice Islands not only the Portuguese, but the English. With Batavia in Java as their headquarters, they built up a rich trade, chiefly by exacting from the natives coffee and spices as tribute. The English turned to India, but it was long before their trading stations were changed into centres for the government of the native peoples. Both the English and the Dutch formed companies to settle the North American coast. The Virginia Company, in 1607, sent out a colony to Jamestown and laid the foundations of Virginia. Henry Hudson was in the service of the Dutch East India Company when he explored the river which bears his name. His errand was to discover a passage to the Indies. The voyage resulted in trade with the Indians for furs. The trade became so valuable that a separate West India Company was formed. The first French efforts to form an East India Company failed, because

the French possessed few merchant ships of their own. King Henry IV., however, sent Champlain to the St. Lawrence. The year after the English settled at Jamestown, Quebec was founded by the French, and a little later Montreal. For years the English and the Dutch were the greatest rivals in Europe for trade on the seas.

236. Industry. — So much gold and silver from the mines of Spanish America found a way out of Spain after the middle of the sixteenth century that the European stock of gold was doubled and the stock of silver was increased tenfold. Prices began to rise rapidly. Merchants and manufacturers grew rich. Many persons had capital to lend, now that the old prejudice against taking interest was dying out. About the same time the way in which workmen were organized in industries was partially changed. In England, especially, the old guilds or companies of craftsmen were becoming weak. This was largely their own fault, for in many trades the richer craftsmen had succeeded in obtaining control of the industry and in keeping others out, in order to obtain higher prices for their own wares. One of the consequences was that workmen moved away from the towns to villages, where they could make their wares without being disturbed by the masters of the guilds. This was the case particularly with cloth weaving, an important industry, because England had ceased to export its wool to Flanders and was making its own cloth. Many weavers had time to take care of a little farm. Since their work was done at home, the method came to be called the "domestic system" of manufacture. It gradually replaced the guild system. In France the king endeavored to maintain the guild system, at the same time checking the attempts of a few master craftsmen to monopolize its advantages.

237. Taxation in England. — With the growth of English trade the revenue from import duties rapidly increased. It had been customary since the fifteenth century to grant the monarch at the beginning of each reign the right to collect duties called tonnage and poundage. Later the kings had

begun to impose additional duties, under guise of regulating trade. These were named impositions. James I. claimed the right to raise their rate and to establish new ones. The merchants resisted, but the judges decided for the king. There was danger that if the king took full advantage of this decision, his revenues from imports would become so large that he would no longer be compelled to ask parliament for ordinary taxes. In this way he would escape its control and might make himself absolute, like the French king. Parliament instinctively felt the danger and constantly haggled with him over grants of money. It would not have distrusted him so deeply had he not repeatedly declared that he was above the law and need obey it only in order to set a good example to his subjects. He also declared that the privileges which parliament enjoyed had been allowed by his predecessors, and were not possessions beyond his power to take away. He repeatedly warned parliament not to interfere in deep matters of State, like the management of the Church and the marriage of the prince of Wales. Queen Elizabeth had also done this when parliament petitioned her to marry, or tried to advise her about Church affairs, but she had done it in a different way. To both Lords and Commons she seemed the heroine of the struggle of England for independence against the pope and against Philip of Spain. They could beg her to change her plans, but they never ceased to love her and to revere her authority. James they never loved, and their respect consisted mainly in a scrupulous use of the ancient formulas of address to sovereigns. The marriage of the prince of Wales they considered their affair, particularly when they learned that King James had asked the king of Spain for his daughter. When the king told them that this did not concern them they protested so energetically that he dissolved parliament and tore their protest from the records.

238. France under Henry IV., 1589-1610. — France had no assembly like parliament which could refuse the king grants of money unless he was careful of the rights of his subjects.



The principal tax, called the *taille* or tallage, which rested wholly upon the common people, had been collected for nearly two hundred years without any new grant from the states general. The people had good reason, however, to look upon such a king as Henry IV. as their protector. But for him the nobles would have taken advantage of the civil wars to reëstablish their power as feudal lords, free to do with peasants and townsmen as they chose. It may not be true that Henry declared that every peasant should have chicken for his Sunday dinner; but through his minister, the duke of Sully, he succeeded in reducing the burdensome *taille* and forbade the nobles to collect any taxes without his consent. He also put an end to the pillage of the country by wandering bands of soldiers. Since the states general had sided with the Leaguers against him he had no desire to see it meet during his reign. He allowed the judges in the parlement of Paris and in the provincial parlements to remonstrate with him if they regarded his acts as contrary to the interests of the kingdom. These judges in no sense represented the people, for they were appointed by him. Since they were chosen from among the most intelligent men of the third estate, they at least gave voice to public opinion. Henry made their position more independent of him by allowing them to pay an annual tax for the privilege of holding their offices as property which might be bequeathed to their sons. This was practically to make nobles of them, and they were called "nobles of the long robe." In foreign politics Henry remained the opponent of the House of Hapsburg whether in Spain or in Austria. By making a treaty with the Dutch in 1608, he forced the king of Spain to make the Twelve Years' Truce with them the year following. Although as a Catholic he supported the interests of the Church in many places, he did not intend that the German Protestants should be crushed by the emperor or the king of Spain, for this would strengthen these monarchs. In 1610 he was on the point of leading an expedition into western Germany to protect the claims of the elector of Branden-

burg to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers when he was assassinated by a fanatic named Ravaillac.

239. The Last States General, 1614. — Henry's son, Louis XIII., was a child, and his mother, Marie de' Medici, ruled as regent. Through her incapable advisers the money which Sully had saved was soon expended, and the great nobles could be kept from making war upon the government only by splendid presents. In despair men again turned to the states general, which was summoned in 1614. It was divided as usual into three bodies or orders, — clergy, lords, and commons or third estate. The speakers for the third estate complained vigorously of the oppression of the peasants, but they looked to the king to stop this. The lords protested against the system which permitted the judges to own their offices and to transform themselves into a nobility. They even urged that commoners should not be permitted to use for their garments cloths which the nobility used, in order that the distinction between the two might be plainer. The assembly accomplished nothing. It was not summoned again for one hundred and seventy-four years.

240. Religious Conflicts in England. — In England the Catholics were still denied the right to worship and were fined heavily unless they attended the Church services established by law. They had hoped that King James would relax this persecution; but he could not, because the most influential men protested that the "recusants" were really traitors, ready to betray England to the pope and his allies. Maddened by such treatment, a group of Catholics, aided by an adventurer named Guy Fawkes, plotted to blow up king and parliament with gunpowder, November 5, 1605. This Gunpowder Plot was betrayed, and the laws only became harsher. Gradually, however, the Catholics were lost sight of in the struggle between the Puritans and the king, a quarrel which became more fierce in the reign of the king's son, Charles. The Puritans thought that the English Church services had retained too many customs characteristic of the Church of Rome. In



Elizabeth's time some of them had wished to decrease the power of the bishops and to give the ordinary clergy more influence in the management of affairs. King James now accused them of attempting to force a presbytery upon him and expelled many of them from their livings. "No bishop, no king," was his motto, learned during his bitter struggles with the Scottish Presbyterians.

241. Dutch Politics. — There were troubles also in the United Provinces. The seven provinces which had won their independence from Spain had never organized a strong federal government. There was a states general with a council of state, and a commander of the army and navy called captain-general and admiral-general; but the real power rested with the provinces whose delegates in the states general were obliged to vote according to their instructions. Each province had its president or stadtholder. As long as the war with Spain continued, unity of action was necessary. It was natural, too, that the victorious leader in the struggle, Maurice, son of William of Orange, should possess great power. Five out of the seven provinces made him their stadtholder, and he was captain-general and admiral-general, besides having as many votes in the council as any province save Holland. This rich province, which paid fifty-eight per cent of the taxes, meant to preserve its provincial privileges and at the same time to play the leading part in the union. It therefore began to oppose the prince of Orange, and its most influential statesman, the pensionary Barneveldt, once the cordial ally of Maurice in the conflict with Spain, became his personal enemy. Barneveldt had excited the hatred of the strong Calvinists, because, like many other Dutchmen and Englishmen, he had given up the special teachings of Calvin about predestination. Barneveldt's position was weakened and in 1619, when Maurice accused him of treason, he was tried and executed. For a time Holland quailed, and Maurice's chances of making himself supreme seemed to increase.

242. Origin of the Thirty Years' War. — On the Continent,

Protestantism was in danger. In Germany the Catholics, exulting that they had regained so much lost ground, determined to win back all the Church territories that had been secularized or administered by Protestant states since the peace of Augsburg in 1555. Had they accomplished this they would have been tempted to conquer these states also and thus restore the unity of the Church in Germany. Many of the princes were slow to perceive their danger. The elector of Brandenburg was planning to secure the duchy of Prussia, which at the death of the reigning duke should be his. He was anxious also about his claims to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers, now that their ruler had died. About this time several south German Protestants under the leadership of Frederick, the elector palatine, formed an Evangelical Union for their own defence, and the Catholic duke of Bavaria with the prince-bishops united against it in a Holy League.

243. War Begins, 1618. — Trouble was brewing in Bohemia, the land of John Huss. Bohemia was a separate kingdom, though it had been in the hands of the Austrian Hapsburgs a century. They were determined that its religious privileges and its ancient liberties should both be decreased, and that it should become much like other Austrian provinces. There was a strong Catholic party in the country ready to assist in the enterprise. When in 1618 two Protestant "temples" had been pulled down, the Bohemian estates were called together to protest. In a moment of passion their leaders hurled two royal councillors from the windows of the castle at Prague. These men were not killed by their terrible fall, but the act was taken as the signal for civil war. Germany might not have been involved had not the Bohemians persuaded the elector palatine to accept the crown when the king, who was also the German emperor, died, shortly afterward. The new emperor, Ferdinand of Styria, expected to become king, and, to assist him, the king of Spain attacked the domains of the elector palatine. Soon the Evangelical Union and the Holy League were drawn into the fight, and the Thirty Years' War began.



244. The Fate of Bohemia. — For a few months the situation of the Emperor Ferdinand seemed desperate, but with the aid of Tilly, the general of the Holy League, he utterly overthrew the Bohemians in 1620 at the battle of the White Mountain. Ferdinand and his advisers used their victory pitilessly. Many of the privileges of the kingdom were taken away and a new constitution granted, which commenced the work of turning Bohemia into a province. The Protestant landowners were driven from their estates, and these were given to the leaders of the Catholic party. The confiscations amounted to over two hundred millions of dollars, according to the present value of money. Three-quarters of the soil changed hands. The fate of Bohemia was a warning to Germany.

245. The Palatinate. — The elector palatine not only lost the coveted crown, he was also chased from his own lands by the Spaniards, who were eager to occupy them because they were situated between Franche-Comté and the Spanish provinces in the Netherlands. The elector hoped for aid from his father-in-law, King James of England; but James was still negotiating with the king of Spain for his daughter and a handsome dowry. He hoped to persuade the Spaniards to leave the Palatinate, for he did not mean to fight over the matter. In 1621, by the expiration of the Twelve Years' Truce, the Dutch were brought into the war.

246. The Attitude of France. — From 1621 the Spaniards attempted to hold the Valtelline, a valley through which troops could be marched from Milan directly into Austria, and so into Germany. This aroused the French, who would not permit their whole eastern and northern frontier to become a Spanish highway. Three years later Richelieu was made the king's principal minister. As a bishop and a cardinal he would have preferred to form a league of Catholic princes which should have held in check all disturbers of the peace, whether Hapsburg Catholics or south German Protestants. At first he was weakened by the civil wars which the old quarrel between the Huguenots and their Catholic enemies occasionally pro-

voked. In 1628 he took advantage of one of these wars to capture La Rochelle, the Huguenot stronghold, in order to take from the Huguenots their dangerous political power. Richelieu expressly confirmed the religious privileges granted in the Edict of Nantes, but did not allow the Huguenots to hold any fortified towns or to gather in political assemblies. His hands were now free, and he effectually defeated the Spanish attempt to control northern Italy.

247. Triumph of the Emperor. — The war had steadily gone against those Protestant princes who had attempted to withstand the armies of the League. Hitherto the emperor had depended chiefly upon the army of the League; but Wallenstein, a noble who had been enriched with the spoils of Bohemia, offered to maintain an army for the emperor's service. This army lived upon the country through which it marched and left a trail of desolation. Wallenstein knew how to win victories as well as to gather about him a horde of soldiers of fortune. By 1626 all Germany seemed prostrate before the emperor.

248. Imperial Hopes Disappointed. — The emperor issued an Edict of Restitution in accordance with which all Church lands which had been taken from the Catholics since 1555 were to be restored. On these territories the Catholic religion was to be required. If the edict were successfully carried out, two archbishopries, twelve bishoprics, and many monasteries would pass from the control of princely families which had held them for a generation or two. In the emperor's triumph lay the causes of his final defeat. Even the princes of the Holy League saw with chagrin that Wallenstein ignored their rights almost as much as the rights of the Protestants. They suspected the emperor of using Wallenstein's army to substitute a highly organized Hapsburg empire for a Germany which was hardly more than a group of half-independent states. This prepared them to listen to Richelieu when he urged them to insist, at the diet of Ratisbon in 1630, upon the dismissal of Wallenstein. The emperor granted their demand only to find

that they remained as distrustful as before. It was at this juncture that Richelieu completed the defeat of the Spaniards in Italy. It was also partly through his efforts that another Protestant champion took the field. This was Gustavus Adolphus.

249. A New Protestant Champion.— Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden since 1611, had already been fighting successfully against the Danes and the Poles. It was his aim to make the Baltic a Swedish lake. If he marched into Germany to save the Protestants, he intended also to win for Sweden important lands upon the northern coast. Although he made a treaty with the French, he did not mean to become Richelieu's tool. He persisted in regarding himself as an ally, to be treated as an equal in all settlements that were to be made. He landed in Germany in 1630, the year the emperor dismissed Wallenstein. Many of the Protestant princes were at first distrustful or timid, and held aloof. They were roused soon afterward by the terrible sack of Magdeburg by Tilly's army, during which twenty thousand persons perished. Gustavus marched southward and defeated Tilly near Leipsic. He now carried the war into Bavaria, making the Catholic princes feel the curse of a struggle which they had brought on. Tilly perished in a battle on the Lech. In his desperate situation the emperor turned to Wallenstein. Wallenstein obeyed, though with the determination to serve himself quite as much as the emperor. He checked the triumphant march of Gustavus, but this was all. In 1632 a great battle was fought at



GUSTAVUS II., ADOLPHUS.

Born at Stockholm, 1594; killed at Lützen, November 16, 1632.



Lützen. As the tide was turning in favor of the Swedes, Gustavus was struck down by a ball. The Swedes charged boldly forward to avenge their king's death, and the battle-ground remained in their hands. The death of Gustavus did not put an end to the Swedish campaign. Richelieu encouraged them with subsidies, and three years later France entered the struggle more directly by a declaration of war against Spain.

250. The Peace of Westphalia, 1648. — The war dragged on for thirteen years more. There was hardly a pretence on either side that it was a struggle for the triumph of religion. It had degenerated into a scramble for territory even when it was not a succession of plundering expeditions. Germany would have been turned into a desert but for the stubborn endurance of the inhabitants. The population decreased one-half, in some places, three-quarters. The ruin was so great that a century was needed to repair the ravages. At last exhaustion caused the leaders to conclude the Peace of Westphalia, the first of the great treaties which were to reconstruct the map of Europe. France received Alsace. Pomerania and several cities in northern Germany were divided between Sweden and Brandenburg. Bavaria retained the Upper Palatinate and the electoral title. A new electorate was created for the son of the elector palatine who received back the Rhenish Palatinate. The independence of the Dutch was recognized. The religious question was decided in favor of the Protestants. Princes were still to determine the religion of their subjects, but Calvinist princes as well as Lutherans were to possess this privilege. If subjects did not wish to conform, they were allowed to emigrate. The Protestants agreed to that "Ecclesiastical Reservation" according to which no Church state should pass out of the control of the Church by the conversion of its ruler to Protestantism. The emperor's authority was weaker than ever. His only compensation lay in his increased power in Bohemia and Hungary, and in the army which Wallenstein had created for him.

e Work of Richelieu. — Richelieu died in 1642, six re the Peace was made, but not until the conquest of s secured. He had been one of the greatest minis- nce. For eighteen years he had ruled for the king. , the queen-mother, and many of the most influential empted again and again to drive him from power. nearly succeeded, riumph was so sud- ned to defeat that on was remembered ay of Dupes." He always distinguish onspiracies against and conspiracies ie king. Both he ruthlessly. Many e sent to the block, prisoned, and still ren into exile. He m that to levy war king was treason. s in parliament were to meddle in affairs nd were ordered to heir judicial duties. his predecessors he lawyers to carry out t parts of France the decisions of the government. a were called "intendants," and they were soon to ll lower the influence the nobles exercised over local n such ways Richelieu was working at the structure e monarchy, making it ready for Louis XIV., the urbon king.



RICHELIEU.

Armand Jean du Plessis, duke of Richelieu and cardinal. Born 1585; died 1642. Entered the royal council in 1616, but only for a year. Cardinal in 1622. Principal minister from 1624 until his death.

SUMMARY

I. Industry, Commerce, Colonies. — 1. Trading companies: (*a*) English trade in Middle Ages; (*b*) business of early Dutch traders; (*c*) reasons for Dutch voyages to Indies; (*d*) English, Dutch, and French trading companies; (*e*) settlements in America. 2. Domestic system of manufacture: (*a*) increase in stock of gold and silver; (*b*) effect upon princes and capital; (*c*) guild system gives way to domestic system.

II. Government and Religion. — 1. England: (*a*) James I. and parliament dispute over taxes; (*b*) James's theory of royal power; (*c*) cause of Gunpowder Plot; (*d*) James and the Puritans. 2. France: (*a*) order and prosperity restored by Henry IV.; (*b*) increase in influence of judges; (*c*) last states general; (*d*) Richelieu destroys political power of Huguenots; (*e*) Richelieu's methods of government. 3. The Dutch: (*a*) organization of the republic; (*b*) power of province of Holland; (*c*) consequences of rivalry between Maurice and Barnevelt.

III. Thirty Years' War. — 1. General causes: (*a*) aim of Catholic princes; (*b*) measures of defence by south German Catholics and Protestants; (*c*) connection between troubles in Bohemia and war in Palatinate; (*d*) war becomes general. 2. Defeat of imperialists: (*a*) Edict of Restitution; (*b*) Richelieu sows discord in Catholic party; (*c*) victories of Gustavus; (*d*) French period of war; (*e*) settlements at Peace of Westphalia.

IMPORTANT DATES

1603. Accession of James I. of England.
1610. Death of Henry IV. of France.
1614. Last states general of France.
1618. Beginning of Thirty Years' War.
1624. Accession of Richelieu to power.
1632. Victory and death of Gustavus Adolphus at Lützen.
1648. Peace of Westphalia.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: Wakeman, *Europe from 1598 to 1715;* Gardiner, *Thirty Years' War;* Payne, *European Colonies;* Gibbins, *History of the Commerce of Europe;* Cunningham, *Western Civilization*, Vol. II.

PARAGRAPHS: —

235. Trading Companies: Cheyney, 161 ff.; see also Payne.

236. Industry: Cheyney, 185 ff.

237. Taxation: An excellent summary of the system in Prothero's introduction, pp. 69–84; illustrations of every phase of the controversy may be found in the source books of English history.

238, 239. Henry IV.: Grant, I., 176–188; states general of 1614, Grant, 192–193.

240. Religious Controversies: See particularly Colby, 69; Kendall, No. 69; Henderson, *Side Lights*, group 6.

241. Barneveldt: Blok, III., Ch. 15.

242–250: Thirty Years' War: Gindely, more briefly, Gardiner; Henderson, I., Chs. 17, 18; Perkins, *Richelieu*, Ch. 7; Fletcher, *Gustavus Adolphus;* Hume, *Spain*, 218 ff.

Additional Reading: Gardiner, *History of England*, 1603–1649, 14 vols.; Perkins, *France under Richelieu and Mazarin;* Baird, *The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, 2 vols.; Gindely, *The Thirty Years' War*, 2 vols.

Review, Chs. 11–14; period, 1453–1648: rediscovery of ancient literature and art, discovery of new world; religious conflicts rend western Christendom.

Special Reviews: —

I. NEW INTERESTS OF THE WORLD. — 1. Revival of learning: (*a*) study of ancient writers and formation of libraries; (*b*) study of Greek; (*c*) study of Greek text of New Testament and the writings of the early Church teachers. 2. Enlargement of known world: (*a*) Portuguese voyages; (*b*) Columbus and his successors; (*c*) voyages around the world, Magellan and Drake. 3. Settlements and trading stations in America and India. 4. Increase of trade, growth of capital, new methods of organizing labor.

II. RELIGIOUS UNION IN WESTERN CHRISTENDOM DESTROYED. — 1. Reform changes to revolution: (*a*) from Luther's protest against indulgences to his defiance of authority at Worms; (*b*) England from Henry VIII., "Defender of the Faith," to Henry VIII. forcing separation from Rome; (*c*) France from Francis I. protecting the Humanist reformers to Francis I. and his son repressing the reformers with severity. 2. Political motives which made revolt safe: (*a*) in Germany, cities and princes jealous of any assertion of imperial authority, illustrations, — protest of Spires, Schmalkaldic League, combination of princes during Thirty Years' War; (*b*) French desire to cripple the Hapsburgs, both Spanish

and Austrian, illustrations, — wars of Francis I., intervention of Henry II., efforts of Richelieu; (*c*) personal policy of Henry VIII., political motives of Queen Elizabeth. 3. Extent of territory withdrawn from obedience to pope: (*a*) wholly England, Dutch republic, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia; (*b*) many German cities and principalities; (*c*) portions of the population in other principalities; (*d*) the Huguenots in France in accordance with the Edict of Nantes.

III. MATTERS OF INTEREST TO STUDENTS OF AMERICAN HISTORY.— 1. Relative power of states which sent out the early voyagers. 2. Troubles which absorbed France and England while Spain was organizing her American empire. 3. English triumph over Spanish navy, the reason why England could undertake safely colonization in America. 4. Origin of the religious differences which existed among early settlers of America. 5. Dutch struggle for independence.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PURITAN REVOLUTION

252. England from 1625 to 1660. — In the days of Henry VIII. and his children, England had been part of the battle-ground in the conflict between the Church and the Protestants. Elizabeth had been politic enough to assure to the land thirty years of peace, but she was eventually drawn into the struggle against the pope and Philip II. By the time of Charles I. the situation had changed and Englishmen were compelled to stand aloof from the affairs of the Continent. They exerted no influence upon the course of the Thirty Years' War and had no share in the gains or losses of the Peace of Westphalia. Their attention was absorbed by the conflict of parliament and king for supremacy. The victory of parliament prevented future kings from governing contrary to the will of the Lords and Commons. During the same period the French monarchy was organizing its arbitrary power upon the foundations laid by Richelieu and Henry IV.

253. Charles I. (1625–1649) and Parliament. — Charles I. had inherited from his father a fatal quarrel with parliament. The House of Commons had been guided by the wishes of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, because they were leaders in a struggle for national independence. When James and Charles had attempted to send help to the struggling Protestants on the Continent or to attack Spain, they had failed. This was partly the fault of the Commons, who would not grant the necessary money, but it was mainly the fault of the duke of Buckingham, the royal favorite, who seemed to mismanage

everything. After the first failure the Commons declined to vote money unless its expenditure was put into more trustworthy hands. They also refused to grant the king the collection of tonnage and poundage for more than a year. They had another reason for their distrust. When Charles had married the French princess, Henrietta Maria, both he and his father had promised Louis XIII. to allow the Catholics greater freedom of worship in England. If he did not keep this promise, France would be provoked to war; if he did, all fervent Protestants in England would cry out against him. Even after he actually enforced the recusancy laws and so hastened the war of 1627–1629 with France, he was still suspected of favoring what Englishmen called "popery," because several clergymen, who set royal prerogatives higher than the privileges of parliament, and whom he rewarded with promotion, were trying to enforce Church usages which Elizabeth had wished to preserve, but which had ceased to be everywhere customary. They particularly desired that the communion table should be kept at the eastern end of the chancel, where it seemed to zealous Puritans like an altar. They also disliked the teachings of Calvin about predestination, which supported the idea that the real Church was invisible, made up of God's chosen, rather than the Catholic idea that it was a great organization ruled over by the bishops, the successors of the



CHARLES I.

Born at Dunfermline, Scotland, in 1600, three years before his father ascended the English throne. Married Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. of France, in 1625. Executed at Whitehall palace, Westminster, January 30, 1649.

apostles. The most famous of these men was William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury after 1633.

254. Parliament Dismissed. — When Charles could obtain no money from the Commons, he continued to collect tonnage and poundage after the first year was up, because he thought that he had a right to the means to carry on the war against Spain and France. In order to help the Huguenots at La Rochelle, he also forced people to loan him money. Those who refused to pay he imprisoned without stating the reason. This was contrary, so the Commons believed, to many charters and laws. They drew up a Petition of Right in 1628, protesting against forced loans and arbitrary imprisonment, but they did not mention tonnage and poundage. In order to end the quarrel Charles signed the Petition, making it a law, but not until his judges had told him that men could still be kept in prison on his order, if the security of the State demanded it. Almost immediately afterward the Commons took up the question of tonnage and poundage. The king tried to bargain with them, and when this failed in March, 1629, he ordered them to adjourn. They obeyed only after a stormy session, in which they adopted three resolutions, declaring those to be traitors who advised or paid tonnage and poundage, and those who introduced "innovations" in religion. Charles did not permit this parliament to meet again, and he imprisoned the authors of the resolutions. Their leader, Sir John Eliot, died three years later in the Tower, from which he had not been released. As time passed Charles became more and more determined not to call another parliament.

255. The Great Emigration. — One of the consequences of this quarrel with the king and of his apparent triumph was the "great" emigration to Massachusetts. Already in 1620 a group of "Separatists" or Congregationalists, who had lived for several years in Holland, had formed a settlement at Plymouth. In 1629 the Massachusetts Bay Company procured a charter from the king, authorizing it to make such rules of government as should not be inconsistent with the English

laws. The Puritans controlled the Company, and, since there was little prospect of liberty for them in England, they resolved to sell their property and emigrate to New England, taking the charter with them so that they could legally govern themselves. In 1630 a thousand people sailed with John Winthrop, and before 1640 nearly twenty thousand others had gone. This emigration was not checked until the Puritans gained the upper hand in the struggle with King Charles.

256. Arbitrary Taxation. — After 1629, in order to raise money to meet the expenditures of the government, the king was obliged to resort to expedients. The most notorious was the levy of ship-money. In time of invasion the ports had been obliged to furnish ships. Since the Dutch and the French were engaged in building war fleets, Charles wished to establish a permanent navy for England. This was reasonable. He also wished to accustom the people to pay a tax not voted by parliament. Sir Thomas Wentworth, one of Charles's advisers, thought that if the scheme was successful it could be used to pay for an army as well as for a navy. Charles in 1634 ordered the levy of ship-money from the seaports, but a year later extended it to the inland counties. John Hampden boldly declined to pay the twenty shillings assessed upon his estate, and so vigorously defended his case in the royal courts that only seven out of the twelve judges decided against him. Dislike of the king's way of governing was evidently increasing, and his only chance of success lay in avoiding new difficulties and in keeping free from extraordinary expenditures.

257. Troubles in Scotland. — While the ship-money controversy was going on Charles was provoking his kingdom of Scotland to armed rebellion by attempting to establish a Church service much like that of England, only more offensive to Puritan notions, and to strengthen the power of the bishops whose authority had been partially restored by his father. The Scots hated anything that savored of "popery," and they despised their bishops whose principal work had been to collect the tithes, a large part of which they then turned over to the

nobles. In 1637, the day on which the new Prayer Book was first read in Edinburgh, there was a riot. All through Scotland men began to sign the National Covenant, which pledged them to resist the introduction of "popery" and to defend their religious privileges. Although Charles withdrew the new Prayer Book, a general assembly, in which the ordinary clergy formed the majority, voted to abolish episcopacy and to re-establish the Presbyterian system. Upon this Charles resolved to reduce the Scots to obedience by force. He had only a little money, which had been voluntarily given, and the army which he led north melted away as soon as the treasury was empty. Meanwhile Sir Thomas Wentworth had been establishing a strong government in Ireland and had succeeded in doing about as he pleased with an Irish parliament at Dublin. He advised the king to try the expedient of calling an English parliament in the hope that in the contest with the Scots it would promise its support as loyally as the parliament at Dublin. When, in 1640, Charles followed the suggestion, he found that he must pay dearly for any help granted him, since the House of Commons was resolved that the king must first abandon his arbitrary ways of collecting money. Accordingly he dissolved parliament before it had been in session more than three weeks.

258. The Long Parliament, 1640–1660. — Since Charles was unable to settle his difficulties with the Scots by negotiation, and because a second war turned out more disastrously than the first, he was obliged to summon parliament later the same year. This parliament, which was not finally dissolved for nearly twenty years, has been called the Long Parliament as its predecessor was called the Short Parliament. Charles was helpless before the demands of parliament, for a Scottish army was encamped on English soil and would not withdraw until the dispute with the king had been settled and its expenses paid. The leaders of the House of Commons, particularly John Pym, resolved to use the opportunity to prevent a return of the government from which England had been suffering for

ten or twelve years. They struck at the king's principal advisers, Archbishop Laud and Wentworth, now earl of Strafford. Both were shut up in the Tower, charged with treason. Strafford had raised an army in Ireland which he had offered the king for the war with the Scots. The Commons believed that this army was to be used in England against parliament.



WILLIAM LAUD.

Born in 1573; executed at London in January, 1645. A graduate of St. John's College, Oxford, of which he became president in 1611. Made bishop of St. David's in 1621, bishop of London, 1628, and archbishop of Canterbury in 1633.

When they could not prove the treason to the satisfaction of the Lords sitting as judges, they abandoned the trial for treason and brought in a bill of attainder, declaring him a traitor. This the Lords passed, and Charles signed in May, 1641, although he had promised Strafford that not a hair of his head should be touched. Strafford was immediately executed. Laud was not tried and executed until four years later. Meanwhile, parliament had forced the king to sign a bill providing that it should meet at least once in three years and to agree that the present parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent. Other bills made illegal the collection of tonnage and poundage, impositions, and ship-money, and abolished the special courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, which had existed for a century or more, and which Charles had used to punish those in Church or State who opposed his rule. The one thing upon which the members of parliament were not agreed was the changes to be made in the management of the Church. They wished to do away with the innovations introduced by Archbishop Laud, but some of them wanted also to cut the evil out, "root" as well



as "branch," by abolishing the bishoprics and by governing the Church somewhat after the manner of Scottish Presbyterianism.

259. The Irish Uprising. — Before these important questions had been settled England was roused by the massacre of thousands of English and Scottish settlers in Ireland. In King James's day all the land in Ulster had been wrongfully taken from the Irish tribes and given to emigrants from England and Scotland. Wentworth more recently had confiscated all the land in Connaught. Added to such wrongs the Irish Catholics had the prospect of being ruled by the Puritan parliament, which held Charles in its grasp. The result was an insurrection. Although parliament was eager to punish the rebels, it did not dare intrust an army to the king, lest he use it to bring the session unceremoniously to an end. In the Grand Remonstrance adopted in November, 1641, they demanded, therefore, that he select ministers in whom they had confidence and leave the settlement of the Church question to an assembly of clergymen. Since this passed the Commons by a majority of only eleven, it was clear that if he acted wisely the king might gradually recover control of affairs.

260. Civil War. — The parliamentary leaders had wrested from Charles more of his power than he meant to part with permanently. In this way they had tempted him to assume the rôle of a conspirator, and he was not statesman or even politician enough to refuse to play such a part. He owed his new supporters to the violent attack on the Church rather than to any confidence they felt in him. He was strongest in the House of Lords, where sat the bishops. The leaders of the Commons feared to leave him even this source of strength, especially when the news from Ireland grew worse and the necessity of sending an army thither increased. They demanded that the bishops should be deprived of their seats. Charles retorted by attempting to arrest, on the charge of high treason, in January, 1642, five members of the House of Commons who had negotiated with the Scots at the opening

of the war. They escaped by taking refuge in London which did not then include Westminster. Charles now left Westminster and sent the queen to the Continent to sell the crown jewels and buy military supplies. Two parties were formed and preparations were made for war. In August the king raised his standard and the war began. He was strong in the north and west, while the parliament was strong in the more prosperous southeast, and especially in the large towns. His followers were called Cavaliers, because many of them were noblemen or country gentlemen, while his opponents were often dubbed Roundheads, because some of the Puritans clipped their hair short.

261. First Years of War. — Charles began operations with an advance upon London, which would have succeeded but for the city militia. He then withdrew to Oxford and planned another campaign in which a northern army should march through the eastern counties and a western army through the southern counties, both to unite below London and to cut off its supplies by way of the Thames, while Charles advanced again from the northwest. This plan bade fair to become successful, but the king's generals found that their soldiers, recruited mostly in the north and west, were reluctant to leave their homes exposed to attacks from towns still held by parliamentary garrisons. In the east the Puritans of five counties formed an association for mutual protection. Its leading spirit was a member of parliament named Oliver Cromwell, who at the outset of the war commanded a troop of horse. Cromwell had explained to his cousin, John Hampden, also an officer, that the reason the king's troopers were so generally successful was that they were moved by honor, while in the parliamentary army there were too many "tapsters and decayed serving-men." He urged Hampden to get men of spirit, "of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go." For his own regiment Cromwell had chosen men who believed in the cause. It was so thoroughly trained and so irresistible in battle that it was named "Ironsides."

MAP NO. 16


THE DIVISION
OF
ENGLAND
JANUARY, 1643
(After Gardiner)
Supporters of King Charles
Supporters of Parliament
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Dunbar (X 1650)
R. Tweed
NORTHUMBERLAND
Newcastle
Durham
DURHAM
WESTMORELAND
Scarborough
I. OF MAN
YORK
Marston Moor (1644)
Hull
R. Humber
R. Ribble
Preston (1648)
LANCASHIRE
R. Mersey
Liverpool
CHESHIRE
Chester
DERBY
Gainsborough (1643)
LINCOLN
Winceby
Newark
Grantham
NORFOLK
SUFFOLK
LEICESTER
Naseby
WARWICK
Holmby
Edge Hill (1642)
Worcester (1651)
Gloucester
OXFORD
Colchester (1648)
ESSEX
London
Mouth of the Thames
KENT
Canterbury
SURREY
SUSSEX
HAMPSHIRE
Southampton
Portsmouth
Bristol
Bath
Roundway Down (1643)
WILTSHIRE
SOMERSET
Langport
DORSET
Weymouth
DEVON
Exeter
Plymouth
Falmouth
Pembroke
Bristol Channel
St. George's Channel
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FRANCE
Longitude West from Greenwich

Although with the aid of the Eastern Association the parliamentary forces began to gain ground, parliament concluded that victory was uncertain without the help of the Scots. To obtain this it was forced practically to promise, in September, 1643, that the English Church should become Presbyterian.

262. Two Decisive Battles. — The Scottish army crossed the border, but it was Cromwell's ability as a cavalry leader rather than this army which brought the first decisive victory, at Marston Moor, in 1644. Cromwell was in favor of pushing the war vigorously until the king was so soundly beaten that he would be ready to sign a permanent peace. For this reason he carried through parliament a scheme for a New Model Army, commanded by soldiers, rather than by great nobles, who feared to press the king too hard. The first test of the New Model came at Naseby, in June, 1645. Again it was Cromwell's skill and energy that won a decisive victory. Although for a time Charles hoped for the aid of an army of Irish Catholics or of Scotch Highlanders under Montrose, surrender was inevitable.

263. The King's Fate. — Divisions had sprung up among the king's enemies. The Scots were jealous of parliament and the parliament was afraid of the New Model. Many members of parliament were willing to introduce Presbyterianism, while in the army the number of Congregationalists or "Independents" was steadily increasing, because men felt that if the English Church became Presbyterian it would also become intolerant. Cromwell held this view. In these divisions Charles thought he had discovered an opportunity to snatch victory out of the midst of defeat. Accordingly, he surrendered to the Scots in 1646 and talked with them about establishing Presbyterianism until the kingdom could be put in order once more. At the same time he listened to proposals from parliament. When the Scots became convinced that he never would sincerely support Presbyterianism they gave him up to parliament, in January, 1647, received pay for their war expenses, and marched back to Scotland. Parliament now was willing to restore him

on almost any terms, so great was its fear of the army and so weary of the war were the people. It undertook to disband the army in March, but failed, because it would not give the soldiers their pay, nor would it guarantee them against being called in question for acts done during the war. Cromwell endeavored to arrange a settlement between the army and parliament, but when his efforts were futile he threw in his lot with the



WESTMINSTER HALL.

Rebuilt, including walls and timbered roof, in the reign of Richard II. (1377–1399). Here Charles I. was tried in January, 1649. It belongs now, as then, to the group of parliament buildings.

army, of which he remained the most popular leader. The army, hearing that parliament intended to bring back the Scots to compel it to disband, seized the king and marched upon London, frightening into exile several members of parliament most active against it. Influenced by Cromwell, the army made an offer, called The Heads of Proposals, the terms of which were far more favorable to the king and to the Church than anything either the Scots or parliament had suggested.

These Proposals included religious liberty for everybody except Roman Catholics. Charles refused, because he still hoped to win by getting his enemies to destroy one another. For this purpose he persuaded the Scots, in 1648, to march into England. This sealed his fate. The army, led by Cromwell, was again victorious and returned, vowing to have vengeance upon "Charles Stuart, that man of blood." Those in parliament who were opposed to the punishment of the king were excluded by troops, the others transformed themselves into a high court of justice, which speedily condemned him to death. He was executed January 30, 1649, in front of his own palace of Whitehall.

264. The Commonwealth. — The men who, in 1640, had undertaken to recover the lost liberties of England had been carried far beyond their true purpose. They could not safely turn back, and if they went on they must defend themselves, not merely against their personal opponents, but also against all the traditions of the country. Shortly after the king's execution the House of Commons declared England to be a Commonwealth without either a king or a House of Lords. The government was put in the hands of a council of state. Parliament could muster scarcely fifty members. The army would have been glad to replace it by a new parliament, elected not by the old constituencies, which were unequal in size, but in accordance with a more equal distribution of seats, granting a better representation to the larger towns than they were to receive until the nineteenth century.

265. Ireland and Scotland. — Meanwhile Cromwell had been sent to Ireland to suppress the rebels and crush the king's party. This he did with savage zeal, in which the determination to have vengeance for the blood shed in the massacre of 1641 was embittered by English contempt for the Irish and Puritan hatred of the Catholics. The Irish landowners were treated as the Bohemian Protestants had been. They were driven into the wilds of Connaught and their lands taken by Protestant emigrants. After his return from Ireland, Crom-



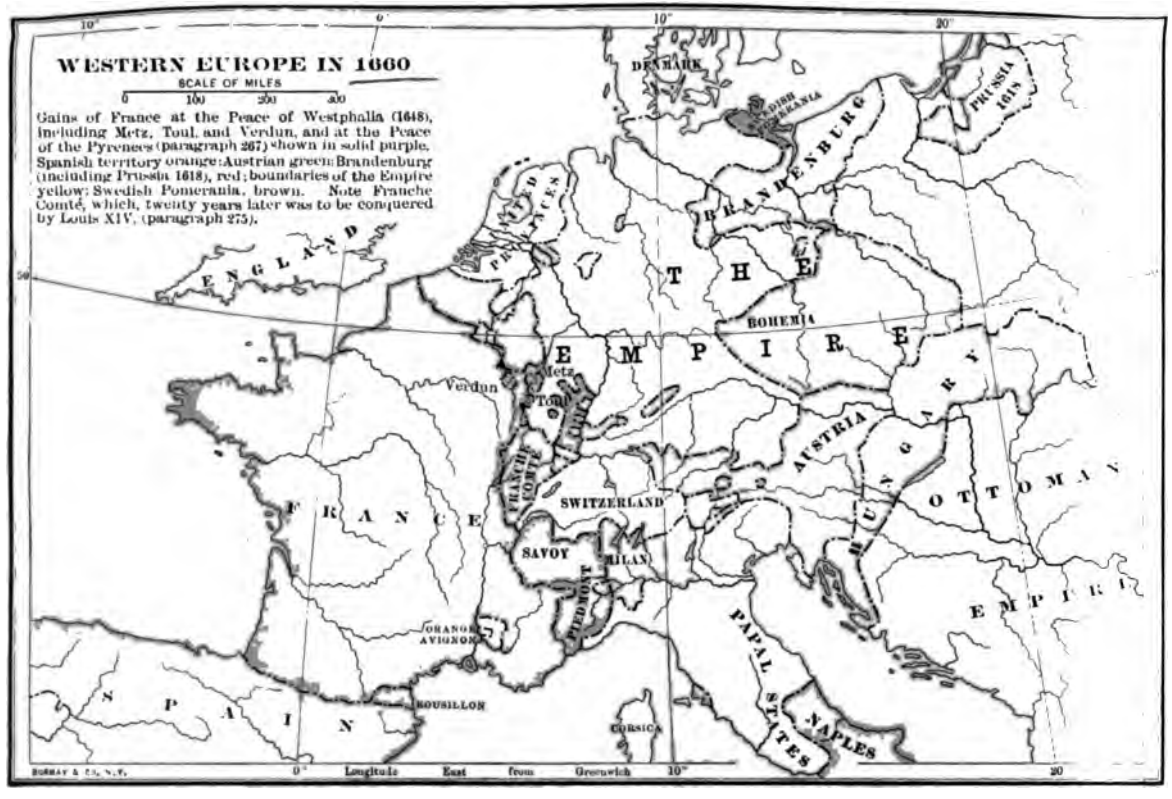
well, now general of the army, was sent into Scotland, where Charles II. had been proclaimed king. When a first victory at Dunbar, September 3, 1650, did not end the war and the Scots invaded England, Cromwell crushed them utterly at Worcester, just a year later. Henceforth there was no armed resistance to the Commonwealth in the three kingdoms.

266. Holland. — In Europe the execution of Charles I. was at first looked upon with horror. In the United Provinces all the partisans of the House of Orange were especially indignant, because the prince of Orange, William II., was the son-in-law of Charles. At the time, Prince William was absorbed in a struggle against the province of Holland similar to that which led his uncle Maurice to overthrow Barneveldt twenty years before. He won a dubious success in 1650 but died almost immediately, bequeathing his ambitions to an infant destined to become as William III. not only stadtholder but also king of England. Holland recovered all its influence under the leadership of the Pensionary John De Witt. This would have strengthened the peace between the provinces and England had not the English parliament, in 1651, struck a blow at Dutch business by passing the first of the Navigation Acts. Ever since the latter part of the sixteenth century the Dutch had excelled their English rivals in the business of transporting the products of Europe from one country to another. The Navigation Act ordered that the goods of all countries should be brought to England and her colonies either in English ships, or in ships of the country where the goods were produced. This meant that the Dutch must cease to carry to England wares of other peoples, like the French, the Italians, or the Germans. Incidentally this bore hard upon the English in America, to whom European goods were often carried in Dutch ships. The Dutch reply was war. Since the days of the Armada no such fighting had been seen in the waters about the English coast. At one time the Dutch seemed to gain the mastery and Admiral Van Tromp sailed down the channel with a broom at his masthead. He was afterward defeated

and killed in a battle with Admiral Blake, an equally great commander.

267. France. — France also had her civil struggles. They were called the Fronde, because they were as petty as a child's game of throwing stones with a *fronde* or sling. Louis XIII. died in 1643, and since Louis XIV. was only five years old, the country was governed by the queen-mother, Anne of Austria. She was under the influence of Cardinal Mazarin, an Italian, Richelieu's successor in the royal council. Mazarin tried to continue Richelieu's policy, but he was hated as a foreign upstart. The country groaned under the taxes levied to pay the expenses of the Thirty Years' War and the war with Spain, which still continued. The government obtained ready money from the tax-gatherers and allowed them to plunder the people. Mazarin became so unpopular that it seemed for a time as if parlement would establish its right to approve or disapprove of decrees ordering new taxes. Paris took the side of the judges in 1648, the citizens barricaded their streets, and defied the royal troops. Many discontented nobles hastened to Paris, hoping to turn the civil war into a means of compelling the government to grant them important places and large pensions. When the citizens and the judges discovered how selfish these nobles were, they made terms with the court, and the Old Fronde ended, while a New Fronde, or war of princes upon Mazarin, began. In this struggle the two greatest commanders of the age, the Prince of Condé and Turenne, took first one side and then the other. In 1653 the war ceased, because all sensible men were weary of the selfish strife. Six years later France compelled Spain to make peace and to cede lands chiefly along the frontier of the Netherlands.

268. Cromwell and Parliament. — Since 1653 England had been governed by a man fit to be remembered among her greatest kings. The members of parliament thought that the best way to guard against a restoration of the monarchy was to pass a law that they should sit in the new parliament, for which plans were being made. This scheme disgusted the


WESTERN EUROPE IN 1660
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300
Gains of France at the Peace of Westphalia (1648), including Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and at the Peace of the Pyrenees (paragraph 267) shown in solid purple. Spanish territory orange; Austrian green; Brandenburg (including Prussia 1618), red; boundaries of the Empire yellow; Swedish Pomerania, brown. Note Franche Comté, which, twenty years later was to be conquered by Louis XIV. (paragraph 275).
10°
0°
10°
20°
50°
DENMARK
SWEDISH POMERANIA
PRUSSIA 1618
BRANDENBURG
ENGLAND
NETHERLANDS
THE EMPIRE
BOHEMIA
Metz
Toul
Verdun
FRANCHE COMTÉ
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
FRANCE
SAVOY
MILAN
PIEDMONT
ORANGE
AVIGNON
PAPAL STATES
NAPLES
SPAIN
ROUSILLON
CORSICA
0° Longitude East from Greenwich 10° 20°



army. General Cromwell led soldiers into the House and drove the members out, accusing them of having stained their acts with injustice and self-interest. He and his officers attempted to replace parliament by an assembly of nominees, but this assembly, called Barebone's parliament, because one of its members was Praise-God Barebone, proved less competent than the old parliament. A group of its members, however, framed a new constitution in December, 1653, which they voted early one day before the majority arrived. This constitution made Cromwell Lord Protector. He was to govern with the aid of a council of state and there was to be a parliament to make the laws. Cromwell accepted the power thus conferred upon him.



OLIVER CROMWELL.

Born at Huntingdon, April 25, 1599; died at Whitehall, September 3, 1658. Entered parliament in 1628, again in 1640. Captain of horse in the parliamentary army, 1642, colonel in 1643; lieutenant-general in 1645; commander-in-chief, 1650. Chosen Protector in 1653.

269. Cromwell's Policy. — Cromwell's position was precisely that of a king whose authority rested upon force, but who steadily sought to give the country firm government at home and honor abroad. He allowed those who adhered to the Prayer Book to meet privately for worship, until he saw that they were his most dangerous opponents. The ministers of the State Church were to be Puritans, but they were not asked whether they were Presbyterians or Independents. He made peace with the Dutch and joined the French in their war against Spain. It was during this war that an English fleet captured Jamaica. Cromwell put an end to the oppression of the Vaudois by the duke of Savoy

and made English power feared in the Mediterranean. Of all this Englishmen in later days became proud, but at that time they looked upon him as a usurper and were impelled by their ancient traditions of self-government to long for an end of arbitrary rule. The case was not improved by his failure to agree with the parliaments elected under the new constitution. Naturally a stout defender of law, he had been driven by the endeavor to preserve the results of the war to tyrannize over Englishmen as no king had done since Henry VIII. He was weary of the impossible task when death came to his release, September 3, 1658, the anniversary of his victories at Dunbar and Worcester. For a time his son Richard tried to play the part, but he abdicated. At this juncture one of the officers, General Monk, moved by a sense of the real wish of England and backed by his army, insisted that a free parliament should be elected. The restoration of the monarchy, with Charles II. as king, was inevitable. In May, 1660, Charles was recalled and parliament declared that "the Government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons."

SUMMARY

I. Charles I. and Parliament. — 1. Origin of the conflict: (*a*) change in attitude toward monarchs; (*b*) question of the right to tax; (*c*) controversy in Church between Puritans and Laud's party. 2. Dismissal of parliament: (*a*) reasons for Petition of Right; (*b*) aim of parliamentary resolutions. 3. Period of personal government: (*a*) causes of Great Emigration to Massachusetts; (*b*) ship money and other arbitrary forms of taxation; (*c*) effect on situation of quarrel with the Scots. 4. Long Parliament: (*a*) attack on Strafford and Laud; (*b*) parliament secures itself against king's interference; (*c*) cuts off king's prerogatives; (*d*) divided by question of Church reform.

II. Civil War. — 1. War: (*a*) immediate occasion; (*b*) division of country; (*c*) royal plan of campaign; (*d*) checked by Cromwell's action; (*e*) why the Scots were summoned; (*f*) to whom parliamentary victory was due. 2. Use made of victory: (*a*) strife among victors; (*b*) policy of Independents; (*c*) consequence of

distrust of army; (*d*) army in power; (*e*) king tries to take advantage of this strife; (*f*) justification of king's execution.

III. COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE. — 1. Organization of government. 2. Conquest of royalists in Ireland and Scotland. 3. Quarrel with the Dutch: (*a*) strife among the Dutch; (*b*) English strike at Dutch commerce; (*c*) course of the war. 4. Cromwell in power: (*a*) how his supremacy was brought about; (*b*) his religious policy; his parliaments; (*c*) his foreign policy; (*d*) why a restoration of the monarchy was inevitable.

IV. CONTEMPORARY FRANCE. — 1. The regency of Anne of Austria. 2. Reasons for Mazarin's unpopularity. 3. Objects of the Fronde. 4. Terms of peace exacted of Spain.

IMPORTANT DATES

1625. Accession of Charles I.
1628. Petition of Right (the year La Rochelle was captured by Richelieu).
1629–1640. Period of personal or arbitrary government (contemporary with later years of Richelieu).
1640. Beginnings of Long Parliament.
1642–1645. Civil War.
1648. Peace of Westphalia: Fronde.
1649. Execution of Charles I.: the Commonwealth established.
1651. First Navigation Act, followed by war with Dutch.
1653. Cromwell, Lord Protector. End of civil war in France.
1659. France and Spain make the Peace of the Pyrenees.
1660. Restoration in England.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: for Europe, books named in previous chapter; for England, especially Gardiner's *Puritan Revolution* or *Student's History of England;* biographies of Cromwell, by Firth and Gardiner; for documents, Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents*, source books; for connection with history of English colonies in America, especially Channing's *History of the United States.*

PARAGRAPHS: —

254. Dissolution of Parliament: Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 64–74; Kendall, No. 72; Henderson, *Side Lights*, group 10; Hill, *Liberty Documents*, Ch. 6.

255. Emigration: Kendall, No. 73.

PARAGRAPHS : —

256. Berkeley's Argument on king's power in ship-money case, see Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents*, pp. 53–54.

258. Long Parliament: attack on the royal prerogative, Gardiner, 118–123; Strafford case, letters, etc., in Kendall, 76, 77; Colby, No. 71, and Lee, 158, *a*, *b*.

259, 265. Ireland: see O'Connor Morris, 134–162.

260. Arrest of the Five Members: Kendall, No. 78.

261, 269. Cromwell: biographies by Firth, Gardiner, Harrison, Morley, Carlyle; Henderson, *Side Lights*, group 12.

262. Naseby: Kendall, No. 81.

263. Death of Charles: Gardiner, *Cromwell*, 152–165; Harrison, 128–129; Kendall, Nos. 82, 83; Henderson, *Side Lights*, group 11; Adams and Stephens, 210–212; Lee, 160–163.

266. Holland: Firth, 312–315, 334, 371–372; Kendall, No. 80; Navigation Act, Macdonald, *Select Charters*, p. 106.

268. Cromwell and Parliament: Firth, Ch. 20; Colby, No. 75; Kendall, No. 85; Lee, No. 168; Hill, Ch. 7.

269. Cromwell's Policy: Firth, Ch. 17; Kendall, Nos. 87–89.

Additional Reading: Clarendon's *History of the Great Rebellion*, Macray ed., 6 vols.; Ranke, *History of England*, 6 vols.; Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, Lomas ed., 3 vols.; Gardiner, *History of England* and *History of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate*, 4 vols.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV.

270. The Age of Louis XIV., 1643–1715. — Louis XIV. reigned seventy-two years. Until 1661 it was Cardinal Mazarin, rather than he, who governed. Even after this time his policy was guided by what Richelieu and Mazarin had accomplished. But for half a century Louis was the central figure of European life. He was regarded as the typical monarch. His ambitious plans to extend the frontiers of France compelled other states to unite in self-defence. In England his influence over Charles II. and James II. prompted them to adopt schemes for the restoration of the Catholic Church which caused the Revolution of 1688.

271. The English Restoration. — The parliament which recalled Charles II. to his father's throne, in 1660, had three hard questions to answer: First, how far should vengeance go in punishing the Puritan leaders; second, should all the work of the Long parliament be undone; and third, should the Presbyterians be tolerated, because they had helped bring back the king. The first question was answered by condemning to death many of the Puritan leaders, particularly those who had taken part in the trial of Charles I. Cromwell's body was dug up and hanged. The bodies of Pym and Blake were taken from their graves in Westminster Abbey and thrown into a pit. Such zeal did not mean that all the effects of the struggle against arbitrary government were to be obliterated. Far from it. The king's principal minister, Sir Edward Hyde, later Earl of Clarendon, had favored the attack of the Long parlia-

ment upon the royal prerogatives until, in the summer of 1641, the Church was also threatened. Consequently, parliament did not abate its claim of the privilege of voting all taxes. But it treated Charles II. liberally, giving him a fixed income so large that he would not have needed parliamentary grants had he not been a spendthrift. He had no mind to go again "on his travels," and he knew, better than his father, just how far it was safe to try the temper of parliament. The religious question was left to a new parliament, composed of such ardent royalists that it was called the Cavalier parliament. King Charles would have been glad for differences in religion to be tolerated, as he was inclined to become a Catholic and wished to protect the English Catholics. The Cavalier parliament was all the more anxious on this account to crush out opposition to the Established Church, with its government by the bishops, and its services in accordance with the Prayer Book. By a series of acts two thousand Presbyterian ministers were forced to resign, no religious services save those prescribed by law could be held, none of the deposed ministers could reside within five miles of a corporate town, and even the magistrates of the towns were obliged to become good churchmen if they would hold their offices. Those who refused to conform were called *Dissenters*. Their numbers increased, for they included not only the Separatists, the Baptists, and the Quakers, but also many Puritans of the older type, who, in Elizabeth's, James's, and Charles's day, had remained in the Church. It was in 1667, while the enemies of Puritanism were completing their victory, that John Milton, the Puritan poet, who had been one of Cromwell's secretaries, published his *Paradise Lost*.

272. Louis XIV. — To his cousin, Louis XIV., Charles's situation seemed deplorable, for, said Louis, "the greatest calamity that can befall a man of our rank is the necessity of submitting to the direction of his people." When Mazarin died in 1661, Louis declared that henceforth he should be his own chief minister. He still called about him ministers and

secretaries of state, but they were to do nothing without his approval. He presided in person over the councils held to consider important matters touching the relations of France to other states or the administration of the kingdom. One of these councils was held every day, and he did not allow even death in his family or his own illness to interfere with the despatch of public business. The trade of king he considered full of noble joys if one were conscious, as he was, of being equal to its many tasks. In a great kingdom where each province had its own laws and special privileges, no monarch, however industrious, could settle all questions himself. Louis was obliged to trust his ministers and secretaries, but his jealous desire to pose as master compelled them to give him the impression that each decision was his own. His jealousy led him often to prefer obscure and commonplace men who would be content to act as his agents. When men like Colbert, who had served him in his earlier years, died, he did not appoint equally able successors. He would permit no opposition from the judges in parlement, and they learned to restrict themselves to their ordinary duties. The states general he never intended to summon. Such a monarch was peculiarly open to flattery. To him the notion that the sovereignty of the State vested in the monarch was not merely a scholar's theory. He believed that even the property of his subjects was his to take or to leave as he chose. During his long reign the business of government was carefully organized about the king as the



Louis XIV.

Born at St. Germain-en-Laye, September, 1638; died at Versailles, September, 1715. Became king at the age of five under the regency of his mother, Anne of Austria.

source of all authority. In the provinces, the governors and similar officers were pushed aside into sinecures by the intendants who directly represented the king in his council. Such a strongly organized country was dangerous to its neighbors unless wisely guided. Unfortunately, Louis XIV. loved glory and wished to appear as the "Sun-King."

273. The Second Dutch War. — One of the laws of the English Commonwealth which the parliaments of the Restoration did not repeal was the Navigation Act. They strengthened it by new Acts which ordered that goods sent from Europe to the colonies or from the colonies to Europe must be first forwarded to England in order that the English merchants might have the profit of handling them. Certain "enumerated articles," like sugar, tobacco, cotton, and dyewoods could be sent only to England or her colonies. These laws were especially aimed at the Dutch, who were rivals in North America, in the West Indies, and on the coast of Guinea. War was the consequence. The English began it in 1664 without any formal declaration. They seized New Amsterdam and the New Netherlands, which in honor of the king's brother were renamed New York. As in the first war, the fighting was between great fleets in the waters about England. In the midst of the war London was visited by a terrible plague, due to its narrow, unhealthy streets and badly built houses. This was followed, in 1666, by the Great Fire, which destroyed nearly all the old city. In spite of these calamities parliament appropriated large sums for the war, but was anxious that the money should be spent upon the war rather than wasted by the king upon his pleasures. Both the English and the Dutch became alarmed by the schemes of Louis XIV., and made peace in 1667.

274. Louis XIV. and the Dutch. — When France had made peace with Spain in 1659, it had been agreed that Louis XIV. should marry the Spanish king's daughter. The Spaniards did not wish to see their kingdom with all its dependencies added to the domain of Louis XIV., so they insisted that the new



queen of France should renounce all claims upon her heritage. In 1665 the king of Spain died, leaving a sickly son only four years old. Since Louis could not claim all the Spanish possessions, he took advantage of a rule of inheritance in the Spanish Netherlands which seemed to give his wife a better claim upon them than that of the infant king of Spain. His best reasons were his desire for such a fine country and the excellent army with which he set out to conquer it in 1667. The Dutch disliked to see the frontiers of a powerful and ambitious monarch brought closer to them. They arranged a triple alliance with England and Sweden, which compelled Louis to pause after he had captured a few of the southern fortresses of the Netherlands. Louis signed a peace in 1668, with rage in his heart. He was determined to have vengeance upon the stout burghers, whom he also hated as republicans and as Protestants. His great finance minister, Colbert, gave him another reason, the same that had led England to adopt the Navigation Acts and twice to make war upon the Dutch. When Colbert had raised the duties on imports of manufactured articles, the Dutch had replied by taxing French articles, especially their wines and brandies. Louis knew he could separate both Sweden and England from their ally, because the Swedes were old friends of France and quite ready to renew the alliance for a rich present, and because King Charles of England had a scheme, to carry out which he needed Louis's aid. In 1669, Charles secretly, and his brother James, the heir to the throne, publicly, joined the Catholics. In a secret treaty at Dover, the year following, Charles promised assistance in an attack upon the Dutch, and Louis promised money and soldiers to aid Charles in holding his kingdom after he should have made public his conversion. Both knew that the jealousy of the Dutch felt by English merchants and shippers would make the war popular with parliament. Louis had no difficulty in arranging alliances with almost all the other European states, so that the Dutch appeared to be friendless.

275. The Attack upon the Dutch. — The war broke out in 1672. The Dutch were unprepared for an attack on the land side, and the French armies speedily overran several provinces. The young prince of Orange was now twenty-two years old. Early in the year he had been made captain-general. In the summer he became stadtholder of Holland, the stronghold of his father's enemies. Meanwhile, to force the French back, De Witt had ordered the dikes cut. The Orange party threw all the blame for the first defeats upon De Witt and stirred the populace to murder him. In the winter the French began their retreat. Prince William took advantage of the fear which French successes had everywhere caused to unite nearly all Louis's former allies in a league against him. Louis also lost the help of England. Charles had taken advantage of Louis's promises of support by issuing a Declaration of Indulgence, by which he suspended the laws against the Catholics and the Dissenters. Parliament held this to be illegal, and would give him no money for the war until he had withdrawn the declaration and had signed a Test Act, which excluded all Catholics from holding office. The English were not successful on the sea and wearied of the contest, especially when they began to suspect that the king of France, and not the Dutch, was their real enemy. In 1674 Charles was obliged to make peace with the Dutch. A little later he would have been forced to declare war on France had not Louis given him money enough to get on without parliament. To placate the English, Charles arranged a marriage between Mary, daughter of his brother James, and William of Orange. Nearly all Europe had turned against Louis, and he concluded in 1678 to end the struggle. For France the peace seemed glorious, for it brought in Franche-Comté and more lands along the northern frontier. But the Dutch lost nothing; they even forced the French to reduce the high duties Colbert had placed on their goods.

276. Prussia. — During the war a new power had begun to make itself felt. This was Brandenburg-Prussia. Since 1640 it had been governed by Frederick William, justly called the



Great Elector. Brandenburg had suffered terribly from the Thirty Years' War, losing half of its population. Frederick's first task was to repair the ruin, but he also determined to increase his little state and to bind more closely its scattered possessions. The old contest about the duchy of Cleves had not been settled, and the duchy of Prussia still owed feudal homage to the king of Poland. When war broke out between Sweden and Poland he sold his alliance to whichever side paid the highest price. The result was that as duke of Prussia he was freed in 1657 from the suzerainty of the Polish king. A little later the inheritance of the duke of Cleves was finally divided, and he received besides the duchy of Cleves itself the counties of Mark and Ravensberg. To this Rhenish territory he had been brought closer by the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and Cammin, which had been given him at Westphalia. Thus the stakes were set from the Rhine to the Niemen within which his successors were to build up modern Prussia. He was a tolerant prince, and his lands became the refuge of oppressed Calvinists and Lutherans, and even of Arians and Jews.

277. Louis the Great. — At the close of the war with the Dutch, Louis XIV. seemed at the height of his power. The corporation of Paris formally styled him Louis the Great, a title already bestowed by the people. Never before had the word of a French king in the affairs of Europe seemed to excite such fear or to command an obedience so humble. It was not by success in war only that France was winning glory. Many of her greatest poets, orators, writers of comedy and tragedy were making French the polite as well as the intellectual language of Europe. Corneille, Racine, Molière, Bossuet, Pascal, and La Fontaine are a few of the names of which the "Age of Louis XIV." could boast. In 1682 the king fixed his court at Versailles in a magnificent palace, constructed by the architect Mansart, the builder of many other châteaux. He gathered the nobles about him in order to heighten his royal splendor. None remained on their estates save those

too poor to bear the burdens of life at court or those who had incurred his displeasure and had been "exiled." In this way the nobility became less useful, while they retained all their ancient privileges, — exemption from the land tax and sole right to many honorary offices.



PALACE OF VERSAILLES.

A smaller palace had been erected here by Louis XIII. The present structure is chiefly the work of the royal architect Mansart and was erected between 1676 and 1688. The court occupied it in 1682. When completed it could house 10,000 persons. The façade toward the gardens is 1890 feet long. This view is from the Place d'Armes, at the end of the avenue de Paris.

278. The Cost of Greatness. — Till his death in 1683, Colbert, the king's ablest minister, tried to meet the enormous charges caused by wars and by royal extravagance. Before he began to manage the finances the thievish Fouquet had so conducted them that only thirty-two million livres reached the treasury out of eighty-five million collected by the tax-gatherers. Colbert raised the collections to one hundred and nineteen million, and the receipts to ninety-seven. At the same time he reduced the *taille*, which bore heavily on the farmers. Unfortunately his attempt to prevent famine by regulating the times when grain could be sent from one district to another or exported from the country did the farmers much harm. His efforts to improve

the quality of French goods by fixing the manner in which they should be manufactured also checked the spirit of enterprise. After his death no one equally able was found to meet the burdens which a constant succession of wars threw upon French resources, so that the age so gloriously begun ended in disaster.

279. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. — The first stain upon the glory of Louis's reign was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Ever since the death of Cardinal Mazarin he had been forming the design of reëstablishing the unity of the Church in France. The existence of Huguenots in his realm was as offensive to him as the existence of Catholics in England had been to the Puritans. He did not have the excuse of the Puritans that religious differences were expressly forbidden by law, for in the edict the Huguenots had been promised a perpetual liberty of worship. Possibly he would never have ventured to destroy his grandfather's noble compromise had he not been constantly pressed by the appeals of the clergy. He was under special obligations to them, for they had supported him in a controversy with the pope over the rights of the crown in the administration of vacant bishoprics, and had agreed in 1682 to a declaration of the supremacy of the royal authority in all matters of State. At the suggestion of the clergy he had already deprived the Huguenots of everything not expressly granted in the edict. Hundreds of churches were pulled down, Huguenots were deprived of offices, and in many cases were even driven from business. After 1681 their children, at the age of seven, could be taken from them and brought up as Catholics if these children could be persuaded to say that they wished to be converted. Every inducement was offered to pastors as well as people to renounce their faith. When the royal officers discovered how pleased Louis was with the news of such conversions, they threatened the Huguenots with all sorts of tortures unless they would declare themselves converted. One method was the "dragonnade," or quartering dragoons in Huguenot houses, encouraging the rough soldiers

to perpetrate any cruelty short of death upon the inmates. Finally in October, 1685, Louis issued an edict of revocation in which he pretended that there were so few unconverted Huguenots that the Edict of Nantes had become useless. By this edict the Huguenots lost all their religious privileges. Their pastors must leave the country in fifteen days unless they too would declare their conversion. If other Huguenots attempted to leave, they would be punished as criminals. In spite of this edict, between three and four hundred thousand emigrated, or, rather, fled, from France, carrying their industry and their riches, but above all their sturdy independence and courage, to other countries. No fewer than twenty thousand of them found homes with the elector of Brandenburg, and remained to work for the greatness of Prussia.

280. Later Years of Charles II. — The destruction of the Huguenots alarmed the Protestants everywhere. In their eyes, Louis XIV. had undertaken the part of Philip II. The English were particularly alarmed, because at the death of Charles II., earlier in 1685, his brother James, an avowed Catholic, had ascended the throne. During the latter part of his reign Charles had won over the majority of those who feared that new quarrels between king and parliament might bring on another civil war. Both his friends and his opponents became organized into parties with names which were originally meant as insults. His supporters were called Tories, or Irish brigands, while his opponents were called Whigs, or Scottish rebels. The Whigs were anxious to exclude James from the throne; but Charles threw discredit upon them by having several of them tried and executed for treason. Charles took advantage of his popularity to change the charters of the towns in such a way that they would henceforward send Tories to parliament. If he could not obtain votes enough in parliament, he knew he could get on without it, since his cousin Louis would furnish him with money. One important measure became law during this period, — the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679, which secured to persons arrested an immediate hearing, pro-

tecting them against the danger of unjust imprisonment. Thus were fulfilled the promises of Magna Charta.

281. James II., 1685–1688. — James II. did not have as much sense as his brother. He was so sure that he was right that he was always astonished to find that any one could oppose his will. He acted on his grandfather's theory, that the king was not held to obey the law. He collected taxes before they were voted. Fortunately for him his first parliament had such a large Tory majority that little fault was found with him, and he was granted an ample revenue. But when he placed Catholics in office, dispensing them from the legal obligation of taking the "test," he found that even the Tories complained. It was dangerous that a Catholic king should be allowed to fill the army and navy and the public offices with Catholics. James's popularity also suffered from the cruelty with which Judge Jeffreys condemned hundreds of misguided rebels who had followed the duke of Monmouth in an uprising in the western counties. Two years after he became king he sought to protect the Catholics under guise of a grant of religious toleration to all. To keep him from winning over the dissenters by such means, the churchmen promised them toleration by Act of parliament. The next year, 1688, James attempted to have another declaration of indulgence read in the churches. When seven bishops petitioned him to excuse the clergy from reading it, he ordered these bishops tried for



WILLIAM III.

Prince of Orange. Grandson of Charles I.; son-in-law of James II. Born at The Hague, November, 1650, died at Kensington, March, 1702. Made captain-general of the United Provinces, February, 1672, and proclaimed stadtholder of Holland and Zeeland in July of the same year. Two years later these offices were made hereditary. King of England in 1689.

treason. They were acquitted. Meanwhile the birth of a son to his second wife, Mary of Modena, a Catholic, destroyed the hope that his Protestant daughter, Mary, would succeed him. For these reasons the king's opponents offered the crown to this daughter and to her husband, William of Orange.

282. The Revolution of 1688. — To William the strongest argument for accepting the offer was that were he king England would join the League against Louis XIV. After the Peace of 1678, Louis had seized important territories along the northeastern frontier of France, including the city of Strasburg, to which he had no just claim. The result was a new league, formed against him by William in 1686. William and Mary crossed over to England. James was deserted by his own friends and fled to France. A Convention parliament declared that by leaving the country James had abdicated, and proclaimed William and Mary king and queen. A Declaration of Rights was drawn up by parliament and accepted by the new monarchs. A little later the Scottish parliament offered the crown of Scotland to William and Mary. This parliament also reëstablished Presbyterianism, doing away with bishops altogether. Ireland had to be conquered, but this was a part of the general European war which had already begun.

SUMMARY

I. ENGLAND AND FRANCE AFTER 1660. — 1. Restoration in England: (*a*) questions before parliament; (*b*) attitude of parliament upon taxation; (*c*) difference between parliament and Charles II. on question of religious toleration; (*d*) treatment of dissenters; (*e*) Milton. 2. Louis XIV.: (*a*) his work after he was his own minister; (*b*) method of conducting business; (*c*) obstacles to absolutism; (*d*) attitude of Louis toward parlements and states general.

II. ATTACKS ON THE DUTCH. — 1. England's policy: (*a*) stronger Navigation laws, with (*b*) war as a result; (*c*) fear of ambitious schemes of Louis XIV. leads to peace and alliance. 2. French policy: (*a*) anger at Dutch interference with attack on Spanish Netherlands; (*b*) commercial jealousy and tariff war; (*c*) plan

to humiliate the Dutch. 3. Breakdown of general attack on Dutch: (*a*) motives of Charles II. in joining in attack; (*b*) other allies of Louis; (*c*) William of Orange, the antagonist of Louis; (*d*) Dutch methods of defence; (*e*) Louis deserted by his allies; (*f*) England makes peace with the Dutch; (*g*) marriage of William and Mary Stuart. 4. Nature of Peace of 1678.

III. PRUSSIA. — 1. The Great Elector. 2. His territorial gains. 3. Prussia no longer vassal of Poland. 4. The Elector's policy of toleration.

IV. THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION AGAIN, IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND. — 1. Louis the Great: (*a*) brilliancy of French civilization; (*b*) burden of expense; (*c*) Louis's desire to suppress dissent; (*d*) his first restrictions upon the Huguenots; (*e*) excuse for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; (*f*) ministers driven from the country, others compelled to remain; (*g*) the Huguenot exodus. 2. Question of tolerating English Catholics: (*a*) Declaration of Indulgence and parliamentary reply by Test Act; (*b*) fear excited because James II. was a Catholic; (*c*) theories of government of James; (*d*) a new Declaration of Indulgence; (*e*) promises to the dissenters; (*f*) the conflict brings on Revolution of 1688. 3. Relation of this to struggle between William of Orange and Louis XIV.

IMPORTANT DATES

1660. Restoration of Charles II.
1670. Treaty of Dover (connect the ensuing war with the Dutch).
1679. Habeas Corpus Act.
1685. Revocation of Edict of Nantes. Accession of James II. to English throne.
1688. Revolution in England.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: Wakeman, and the histories of England, Germany, France, and Spain, already mentioned; Figgis, *English History from Original Sources*.

PARAGRAPHS:

271. Restoration: Gardiner. *History of England*, 576–582; Colby, No. 77; Henderson, *Side Lights*, group 14; persecution of dissenters, Gardiner, 582 ff.; Kendall, Nos. 90–93; Figgis; Acts, in Adams and Stephens, Nos. 223–226.

PARAGRAPHS:

272, 277, 278. Louis XIV.: general character of his rule, Grant, II., Ch. 10, Kitchin, III., 143–164; Hassall, *Louis XIV.*, Chs. 3, 11; Perkins, Ch. 5.

273–275. The Dutch: for Navigation Acts, see Macdonald, 110, 133; Cheyney, 189–193; Andrews, Ch. 1; Kendall, No. 94: the Great Fire; Colby, No. 78; Kendall, No. 93; Henderson, *Side Lights*, group 16; Figgis; the political situation, briefly in Gardiner, 589–593, 599–609; Grant, II., 30–44; Declaration of Indulgence, Adams and Stephens, No. 227; Kendall, No. 95.

274. See genealogy below for claim of Louis XIV. upon Spanish heritage.

276. The Great Elector: Henderson, II., 1–29; Tuttle, I., especially Chs. 5, 6.

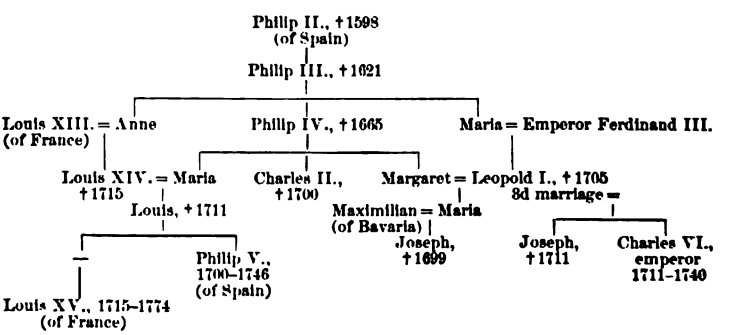
279. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: Grant, II., Ch. 12; Kitchin, III., 223–231; Baird, *The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, II., Ch. 11.

280. Later Years of Charles II.: Gardiner, Ch. 40; Kendall, No. 96; Figgis; Habeas Corpus Act, Hill, Ch. 8.

281–282. Revolution of 1688: Kendall, Nos. 98, 99, 101; Colby, 81–83; Lee, Nos. 180–192; Henderson, *Side Lights*, group 19; Figgis, Part II.; Hill, Ch. 9.

Additional Reading: Macaulay, *History of England*, 5 vols.; Perkins, *France under the Regency;* Tuttle, *History of Prussia*, 4 vols.; Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power upon History;* Andrews, *Colonial Self-Government.*

TO ILLUSTRATE THE DISPUTE OVER THE SPANISH HERITAGE; SEE ALSO PARAGRAPH 290



CHAPTER XVII.

DOWNFALL OF LOUIS THE GREAT

283. 1688–1715. — The twenty-five years which followed the Revolution of 1688 were a period of important changes in the English system of government. To France they brought ruin and disappointment, the fatal consequence of a policy which had forced all Europe to unite in self-defence. The struggles which resulted altered the political geography of Europe. Brandenburg became the monarchy of Prussia; the duke of Savoy was made king of Sicily, a title which he was soon to exchange for that of king of Sardinia; the Netherlands ceased to be Spanish and became Austrian. During this period, also, Russia claimed a share in European politics.

284. Louis XIV. and his Enemies. — In September, 1688, before William III. became king of England, the French had provoked war on the Continent by seizing the domain of the elector palatine, which Louis XIV. claimed should belong to the wife of his brother, the duke of Orleans. To make impossible its recovery by the generals of the League, he ordered his officers to burn the cities and devastate the whole region. The wretched inhabitants were driven from their homes, carrying their hatred of the French far into Germany. As soon as William was established in his new kingdom, the English entered the League. This gave the war a new character. Its principal cause had been the desire of both Louis and the Emperor Leopold to possess the great Spanish heritage. Each had married a sister of the feeble Spanish king. Their mothers also were Spanish princesses. England had

slight interest in this family quarrel. What the English feared was the growth of French power guided by the boundless ambitions of Louis XIV. By this time both the French and the English had trading stations in India. In America the French held the St. Lawrence valley and were exploring the Mississippi, while the English had settlements scattered along the Atlantic coast from Maine to the Carolinas. Both, also, had colonies in the West India Islands. The war became a struggle for these colonies. It proved to be the beginning of a series of wars, a new Hundred Years' War, which closed only in 1815.

285. King William's War, 1689–1697. — In America the earlier wars received names different from their names in Europe. The first was called King William's War. The French and their Indian allies burned several frontier settlements, massacring their inhabitants, while the English captured Port Royal in Acadia, later called Nova Scotia. In Europe Louis XIV. treated James II. as king of England, and sent an expedition to Ireland to establish his authority in that country. King William despatched against James, Marshal Schomberg, a Huguenot who had been forced to leave France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In 1690 William crossed to Ireland and defeated James at the battle of the Boyne. On the Continent the French gained most of the victories, but William's stubborn persistence in beginning anew after each defeat kept them continually in check. Louis soon became weary of the war, which was rapidly exhausting the resources of France. He wished peace made before Charles II. of Spain died and the struggle for his possessions began. When peace was made at Ryswick, in 1697, Louis was obliged to give up all the lands which he had seized since 1678, except the city of Strasburg. The ruin of his plans had begun.

286. Reign of William III., 1689–1702. — At the Peace of Ryswick, Louis had been obliged to recognize William III. as king of England. William was never popular in England. Even the nobles who had invited him to take the English

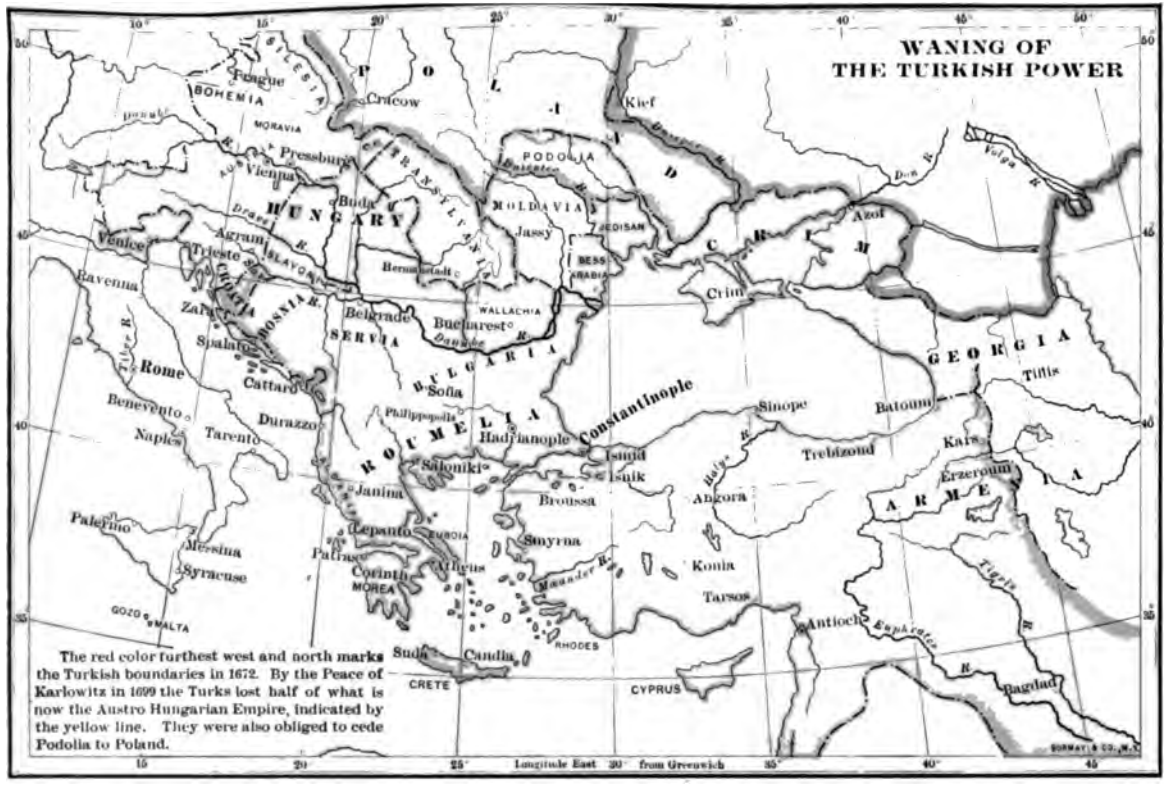
crown occasionally wrote to James, thinking it best to regain his favor in case he should return. In spite of this — possibly because of it — the English method of governing chiefly through parliament was made more effective during William's reign. Annual sessions were secured through the custom of voting money for government expenses for only a year, and of renewing for the same period the act making mutiny punishable by court-martial. William at first chose his ministers from both Whigs and Tories; but when this led to disputes, he selected them from the Whigs, who happened to have a majority in the House of Commons. The ministers began to act more like a modern cabinet, and to organize their followers carefully. Since a supreme parliament might have been as dangerous as an absolute king if there were none to whom an appeal from its decisions might be made, it was fortunate that the practice of licensing printing was abandoned and the press made free. A Toleration Act relieved the dissenters from oppression. Other changes gave England strength to pay for her wars. A Bank of England was founded. Money was borrowed in the form of permanent loans, called a national debt, so that the expenses of a great crisis might not crush the citizens, but might be partly borne by later generations. In 1701, after the death of Queen Mary and the death of her sister Anne's children, an Act of Settlement was passed, guaranteeing the crown in the event of the death of William and of Anne to the Electress Sophia of Hanover, daughter of the elector palatine and granddaughter of James I., and to her Protestant descendants.

287. Ireland. — The only one of the three kingdoms which lost by the transfer of the crown to William was Ireland. Under Charles II. there had been an attempt to return to the Irish some of the land that had been taken from them during the rule of Cromwell. The result was not satisfactory, for while in 1641 about two-thirds of the cultivated land was held by Irish Catholics, in 1685 about two-thirds was held by Protestants, who were almost wholly English emigrants. The

Irish Catholics had cast in their lot with James, and his overthrow brought about still further confiscations. The Dublin parliament no longer had any Catholic members, so that it represented only a small portion of the people. It would allow no open worship by the Catholics. Long years of oppression were to make the hatred of the English an Irish national tradition.

288. Repulse of the Turks. — The Emperor Leopold had other enemies besides Louis XIV. In 1683 the Turks had laid siege to Vienna, and would have captured it but for the timely assistance of John Sobieski, king of Poland. The next year a crusade was begun against this ancient enemy of Europe. The emperor, the Poles, the Venetians, and a little later the Russians, joined in a Holy League. Buda was taken by assault, and the Turkish army disastrously defeated at the battle of Mohacs in 1687. The outbreak of the war between Louis XIV. and the emperor for a time saved the Turks from utter overthrow, but by 1699 they were forced to sign the Peace of Karlowitz, by which they abandoned to the emperor not only Hungary and Transylvania, but also parts of the Slavic lands south of Hungary. Poland received Podolia and other territories, which, a century later, she was to surrender to Russia. The Russians received Azov. It was in this war, during a bombardment of the Acropolis at Athens, that a Venetian shell ruined the Parthenon, which the Turks were using as a powder magazine.

289. Austria-Hungary. — Hungary now fell more completely under the power of the Hapsburgs. Hitherto the monarchy had been elective. An agreement with the Hungarian diet rendered it hereditary in the House of Hapsburg on condition that each new king should swear at his accession to respect the constitution of the land. This made up in part for the loss of power brought upon the Hapsburgs by the Peace of Westphalia. Since that time the Empire had been hardly more than a loose confederation in which the emperor had little real authority. Thenceforward Austria and the lands associated with



The red color furthest west and north marks the Turkish boundaries in 1672. By the Peace of Karlowitz in 1699 the Turks lost half of what is now the Austro Hungarian Empire, indicated by the yellow line. They were also obliged to cede Podolia to Poland.





it, rather than the Empire, gave actual power to the ruler generally known as the emperor.

290. The Spanish Heritage. — At the close of the century Charles II. of Spain had not long to live. Those who claimed to be his heirs were busy arranging for a division of the heritage. It was a splendid domain. Although Louis XIV. had already taken away Franche-Comté and the southern portion of the Netherlands, a vast empire remained. This included, besides Spain, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, Sardinia, Milan, and other Italian lands, the Netherlands, half of North America, the larger part of South America, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. In 1668 Louis XIV. and Leopold had agreed upon a plan of division, because the infant Charles was so feeble that he was not expected to grow to manhood. After the Peace of Ryswick, Louis made two treaties of partition with William, who represented English and Dutch interests. By the second the dauphin of France was to have most of the Italian lands, while the emperor's younger son, Charles, was to have Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies. The emperor claimed the whole for Charles. Most of the Spaniards, including the dying king, were incensed by such schemes for spoiling the magnificent empire which was still their glory. Consequently the friends of France in Madrid easily persuaded king and councillors to make a will, giving the whole heritage to the second grandson of Louis. This was an advantage to the family of Louis rather than to France, for the new king was to give up his claim upon the French throne, and the two kingdoms were to be separate forever. The news of this bequest followed immediately the death of Charles in November, 1700. Louis accepted the will, breaking his agreements with England and Holland. This would not have brought on war, but Louis acted as if the Spanish possessions were to be managed from Versailles and as if his grandson, King Philip V., was simply a deputy. Just at this moment James II. died, but not before Louis had promised to recognize his son as James III. The English were enraged. They scorned the idea that it rested

with Louis to transfer the crown at his pleasure. Thus was brought on the War of the Spanish Succession, called in America Queen Anne's War, because William died and she mounted the throne before it broke out.

291. Europe takes Sides.—The War of the Spanish Succession lasted for twelve years. Louis had no allies except Bavaria and Spain, where the new king was really popular. The duke of Savoy at first joined him, but afterward, finding that the emperor would promise more, changed sides. To win the elector of Brandenburg, the emperor allowed him to take, in 1701, the title king of Prussia. The king of Portugal also abandoned Louis, attracted by the offers of the allies, and particularly of England. It was at this time that the Methuen treaty was made by which England lowered the duties upon Portuguese wines, and Portugal, in return, lowered those upon English woollens and other manufactures. Commercially, Portugal became an outlying province of England, and the products of the Portuguese colony of Brazil went to pay for articles purchased by the Portuguese of the English.



DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

John Churchill, created duke of Marlborough in 1702. Born in 1650; died in 1722. Commander of the British troops during the War of the Spanish Succession. Victor at Blenheim, 1704; at Ramillies, 1706; at Oudenarde, 1708; at Malplaquet in 1709. Removed from command in 1711, when the Tories gained power.

292. The War. — France lost nearly all the great battles of the war, although for fifty years her armies had not been defeated. Among the allies the two greatest generals were the English duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, cousin of the duke of Savoy. They shared the glory of the victories of Blenheim in 1704 and Malplaquet in 1709. The duke of Marlborough was a politician as well as a soldier

and he controlled the English government during nearly the whole of the war. He was in no haste to make peace, because he thought that this would decrease his influence.

293. Peter the Great, 1682–1725.— In northern Europe, also, war was raging between Sweden under Charles XII. and Russia under Peter the Great. For two centuries the Russians had been independent of their Tartar conquerors. Several of their tsars had attempted to increase their relations with western Europe and to reorganize the country. The task was difficult, because no part of the Russian frontier touched either the Black Sea or the Baltic, and the White Sea was frozen several months of the year. The capital was at Moscow. Peter became actual ruler of Russia in 1689, although he had been nominally tsar since 1682. As he grew to manhood his curiosity to learn the European arts became a consuming passion. He was particularly anxious to learn how ships were built and how soldiers were organized for war. To the old Russians, who despised and hated a Europe which differed from their own land in customs and in religion, these things seemed idle amusements. In reality the ships which he built and the regiments he organized while still a youth were the beginnings of Russia's modern army and navy. The Peace of Karlowitz had brought him Azov, but this port he was compelled to restore in 1711 at the end of another war. Before this peace had been made he had journeyed westward, visit-



PETER THE GREAT.

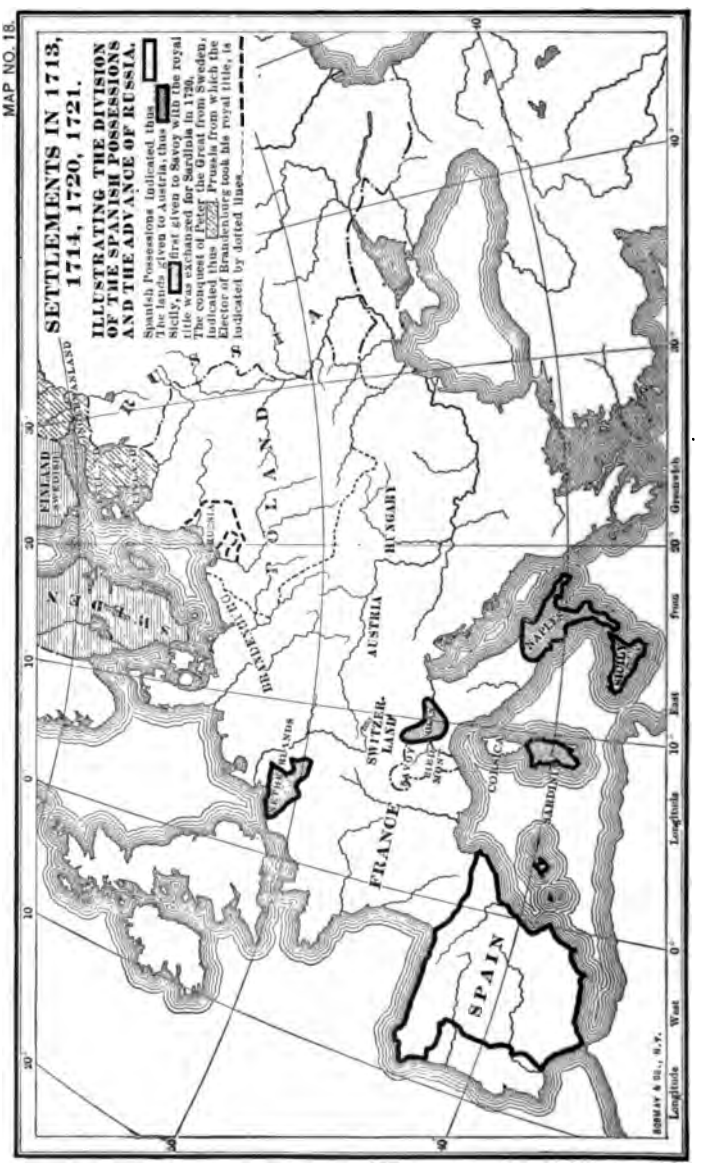
Born, 1672; died, 1725. Titular tsar in 1682. First journey to western Europe in 1696–97. Founded St. Petersburg in 1703.

ing Germany, Holland, England, and Austria, everywhere observing whatever could instruct him in his task of recasting the industrial and social life of Russia. Assuming a disguise, he even worked in the shipyards of Holland. At Vienna he was eager to learn of Prince Eugene, already famous as a general. He was hastily recalled to Russia by the revolt of the ancient militia, named the Streltsi, which disliked his reforms and which was loath to see its own influence decreasing. In punishing them he showed the same savage energy which characterized him throughout. It was shortly after this that he laid the foundations of the city of Petersburg in the marshes of the lower Neva. This was to be the portal through which European influences were to come to his aid. There was no part of the industrial or social or political life which his reforms did not touch. He ventured even to change the government of the Church, leaving the office of patriarch vacant and appointing a board of bishops and archbishops, later called the Holy Synod. The new army numbered at the end of his reign over two hundred thousand, the navy forty-eight ships of the line, besides a multitude of smaller vessels. These things were expensive and new taxes were devised, falling with crushing weight upon the peasants, who a century before had been reduced to serfdom. Although Peter succeeded in decreasing the differences between his country and other European states, and although Russia had to be taken into account in all the wars which followed, it is doubtful whether he greatly changed the character of the Russian people.

294. Charles XII., 1697–1718. — Charles XII. of Sweden was only eighteen years old in 1700 when the war with Russia and her allies, Poland and Denmark, began. Four years before, at the death of John Sobieski, Augustus II., elector of Saxony, had been chosen king of Poland. Augustus and Peter proposed to divide between them the Swedish lands on the eastern shore of the Baltic. The king of Denmark also hoped for a share of the spoils. The allies had mistaken their enemy. Although still a boy, Charles was eager to rival the glories of

Alexander the Great. This was not a mere childish dream, for he proved to be one of the greatest generals Europe had ever seen. Fortunately for him, his army had forgotten neither the discipline nor the lessons in war given it by Gustavus Adolphus. It took Charles only six weeks to force a peace from the king of Denmark. Next he turned upon Peter and defeated his army before Narva in November. This victory gave him the choice of continuing his attacks upon the Russians, and so guaranteeing his provinces from danger, or of entering Poland against Augustus II. He took the latter course, and wasted six years in trying to depose Augustus and place upon the throne Stanislaus Leszcynski. When he had apparently succeeded, he tried to offset the gains the tsar had been making along the Baltic by a direct invasion of Russia toward Moscow. This failed, and he turned southward, hoping to find allies among the Cossacks, whose *hetman*, Mazeppa, promised him the support of forty thousand of these terrible horsemen. Mazeppa could not keep his promise, and a Russian winter completed the ruin of the Swedish army. Peter brought against him an army twice as large. The battle took place at Poltava in 1709. It was the revenge for Narva. For several years Charles found refuge among the Turks, and with insane obstinacy refused to return to Sweden until long after it was vain to hope for the recovery of what Sweden had lost. When peace was finally made in 1721, Russia had gained Ingermanland, Swedish Livland, Esthland, and parts of Carelia and Finland. One of Peter's ambitions was satisfied.

295. Peace of Utrecht, 1713. — The fighting in the north threatened several times to become complicated with the campaigns against Louis XIV. Fortunately for the allies both Charles XII. and Peter the Great were not inclined to turn aside from their own struggle. When in 1711 the Archduke Charles inherited the possessions of the Hapsburgs and was soon to become emperor, England and Holland were anxious that he should not have the Spanish possessions also, for in this case he would be as powerful as Charles V. had been.


MAP NO. 18.
SETTLEMENTS IN 1713, 1714, 1720, 1721.
ILLUSTRATING THE DIVISION OF THE SPANISH POSSESSIONS AND THE ADVANCE OF RUSSIA.
Spanish Possessions indicated thus
The lands given to Austria, thus
Sicily, first given to Savoy with the royal title was exchanged for Sardinia in 1720.
The country of Pomerania was ceded by Sweden, indicated thus
Prussia, from which the Elector of Brandenburg took his royal title, is indicated by dotted lines.
FINLAND
SWEDISH
RUSSIA
HOLLAND
BRANDENBURG
PRUSSIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
SWITZERLAND
SAVOY
FRANCE
CORSICA
SARDINIA
NAPLES
SICILY
SPAIN
Longitude West 0° Longitude East from Greenwich
BOWLES & SON, N.Y.

In England Marlborough had lost his influence, and the Tories were anxious to make peace. This led to the treaties of Utrecht in 1713, to which all the allies agreed except the emperor. He continued the war a year longer, making peace with Louis at Rastadt. By the Peace of Utrecht and the Peace of Rastadt, the map of Europe was largely redrawn. Spain and the Indies were to belong to Philip V. Of the other Spanish possessions



CHÂTEAU OF CHAMBÉRY.

This château was constructed in the thirteenth century by Thomas I., count of Savoy. Later the residence of the dukes of Savoy until they fixed their residence at Turin.

the Emperor Charles was to have Naples, Sardinia, Milan, and the Netherlands. The duke of Savoy received Sicily. The English retained Gibraltar, which they had captured. From Louis they gained Acadia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay. They also received the *assiento*, or right to transport all the slaves sold in Spanish America. As a result of the war the magnificent inheritance of Philip II. was dissipated. Spain passed from the Hapsburg to the Bourbon family. But it was

some compensation to the Austrian Hapsburgs to substitute themselves for the Spaniards in Italy and the Netherlands. France had gained nothing, although the family of Louis had acquired a kingdom. French jealousy of the Hapsburgs was to turn wholly toward Austria.

296. New Monarchs in France and England. — In 1715 Louis XIV. died. So great had been the misery of the country during the war that the people breathed a sigh of relief at the news. The new king, Louis XV., great-grandson of Louis XIV., was only ten years old, and for a time the government was managed by a regent, the duke of Orleans, the late king's nephew. Queen Anne of England had died the year before. In accordance with the Act of Settlement her successor was the elector of Hanover, George I., great-grandson of James I. He became king of Scotland also, for in 1707 Scotland and England had been united by agreement between the parliaments of the two kingdoms. After that time Scotland sent her representatives to Westminster instead of to Edinburgh. There were many in England and in Scotland who would have preferred that Anne should have been succeeded by her brother James, usually called the Old Pretender. These persons were nicknamed Jacobites. James tried in 1715 to raise an insurrection against the new king, but his supporters were easily beaten. His title could not be recognized even by France, for Louis XIV. had abandoned him at the Treaty of Utrecht.

SUMMARY

I. Louis XIV. and William III. — 1. King William's War: (*a*) provocation by Louis; (*b*) why English entered League against him; (*c*) meaning of war for England and France; (*d*) how American colonies were affected; (*e*) struggle in Ireland; (*f*) nature of peace. 2. France and England: (*a*) effect of the war upon France; (*b*) origin of English national debt; (*c*) the way parliament controlled expenditure and army; (*d*) beginnings of cabinet system; (*e*) religious toleration; (*f*) Act of Settlement; (*g*) treatment of Ireland, especially in relation to origin of "Irish question."



II. Spanish Heritage. — 1. Of what it consisted. 2. Schemes for division: (*a*) treaties of partition; (*b*) how Louis's grandson gained a great heritage. 3. The war: (*a*) why nearly all Europe took sides against Louis; (*b*) cases of Prussia and Portugal; (*c*) why the English remember with pride this war; (*d*) reason Sweden and Russia took no part in it. 4. Division of the heritage: (*a*) change in attitude toward Austria's share; (*b*) gains of England in America.

III. East and North. — 1. Turks: (*a*) their disasters in Hungary; (*b*) relation of this to growth of Austro-Hungarian monarchy. 2. Peter the Great: (*a*) his mania for reform; (*b*) his journeys in western Europe; (*c*) results of his work. 3. Charles XII. and Peter the Great: (*a*) combination against the Swedes; (*b*) first successes of Charles; (*c*) his mistaken policy; (*d*) Poltava; (*e*) terms of peace.

IV. New Monarchy in England. — 1. Accession of George I. 2. Union with Scotland.

IMPORTANT DATES

1688. Opening of war in Europe against Louis XIV. Revolution of 1688 in England.
1689. Peter the Great begins his rule in Russia.
1697. Peace of Ryswick; end of King William's War.
1699. Treaty of Karlowitz.
1700. Philip, grandson of Louis XIV., made heir of Spanish heritage: beginning of war between Sweden and Russia.
1704. Battle of Blenheim.
1707. Act of Union between England and Scotland.
1709. Battle of Poltava.
1713. Peace of Utrecht.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: same as in preceding chapter, with Seeley, ***Expansion of England.***

Paragraphs:

284. Causes of War: Wakeman, 256–261; Duruy, France, 440–441; Parkman's *Count Frontenac.*

286. William III.: Traill, *William III.;* Henderson, *Side Lights*, group 22; important statutes, Adams and Stephens, Nos. 237–239, 243; on the Bank, Colby, No. 85; Glencoe, Colby, No. 84; Kendall, No. 102; Figgis, part 2; the succession, see genealogy below.

PARAGRAPHS:

287. Ireland: O'Connor Morris, 177 ff.

288, 289. Eastern Europe: Wakeman, Ch. 12.

290. The Spanish Heritage: Kitchin, III., 274–291; Hume, 312–319; Duruy, 449–450; Figgis, 119 ff.; see genealogy, page 272, and paragraph **274**.

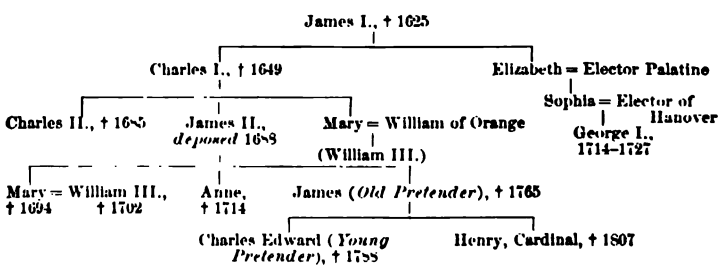
291, 292. The War: Kitchin, III., 294 ff.; Prussia's policy, Tuttle, I., 288–302; Savoy and Portugal, Kitchin, 302–303; Blenheim, Colby, No. 86; Kendall, No. 115; Henderson, group 23; Figgis, 136 ff.

293, 294. Peter the Great, Charles XII.: Wakeman, 299–310; Rambaud, II., Chs. 1–4; Schuyler, *Peter the Great;* Bain, *Charles XII.*

295. Utrecht: Kitchin, III., 337–342; Figgis, 187–190.

Additional Reading: Parkman, *France and England in America*, especially *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, *The Old Régime in Canada under Louis XIV.*, *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.*; Hunter, *Brief History of the Indian Peoples.*

STUART AND HANOVERIAN FAMILIES



Special Review: ruin of the Stuarts, and end of arbitrary government in England, Chs. 15–17, period, 1625–1715.

1. The Stuart theory of government upon (*a*) taxation, and (*b*) upon Church administration. 2. Parliamentary theory, as shown in Petition of Right, and (*b*) under Puritan influence, in the resolutions of 1629. 3. First struggle: (*a*) period of personal government, its characteristics; (*b*) retaliatory measures of Long parliament, with (*c*) division about Church administration be-

tween Puritans and supporters of Charles I., resulting (*d*) in Civil War, and (*e*) eventually in military government under a dictator. 4. Second struggle: (*a*) regulation of taxes under Charles II.; (*b*) Church struggle changes, Puritans on the defensive, churchmen alarmed at favor shown the Catholics; (*c*) why James II. aroused more antagonism than Charles II.; (*d*) Revolution of 1688, as a domestic political quarrel, and as part of the struggle against Louis XIV. 5. Parliament secures its victory: (*a*) by method of granting appropriations and by Mutiny Act; (*b*) by system of party ministries; (*c*) by Act of Succession, which incidentally forced the male line of Stuarts into the position of mere pretenders.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NEW STRUGGLES FOR SUPREMACY

297. European Rivalries. — Before the middle of the eighteenth century the struggle which William III. had brought on between England and France had been shifted from Europe to India and America. France was no longer what she had been under Louis XIV. and there was little prospect that her power in Europe would be dangerously increased. In the colonies it was the aggressiveness of the English rather than the ambitions of French colonial governors which was likely to bring on a crisis. The only exception was India, where the French, under the guidance of Dupleix, were at the outset more successful. Meanwhile a new power of the first rank had forced itself to the front. This was Prussia, organized by Frederick William I. and rendered victorious by Frederick the Great. At the same time Holland and Spain were sinking to second or third rank.

298. Commercial Bubbles. — The wars of Louis XIV. had left all governments deeply in debt. France was practically bankrupt. This is no wonder, for she had been at war forty-seven out of the seventy-two years of Louis's reign. The French debt was five hundred million dollars at a time when money was four or five times as valuable as it is now. Even after peace was made the annual deficit increased. The English debt was so large that the creditors doubted the ability of the government to pay, although the Bank of England, founded twenty years before, rendered this easier than in France. In each country the government attempted to lighten the burden by allying itself with vast speculations, and in each these

schemes failed so disastrously that they have been called "bubbles," — the Mississippi Bubble and the South Sea Bubble. A Scotchman, named John Law, tried to persuade the French regent to establish a bank somewhat like the Bank of England. The regent would not do this, but in 1716 authorized Law to found a private bank, three-quarters of the capital of which was to be paid with government notes then at a discount. The new bank received deposits, discounted business paper, and loaned notes of its own which it promptly redeemed in gold or silver whenever they were presented. The success of the bank convinced the regent that Law was a great financier, and he ordered that it be made a government bank. Before this Law had bought up the Company of the West with its trade rights in Louisiana and in Canada. Again he had permitted the stock to be paid for largely with government notes. A little later he added the East India Company and several others, organizing the whole in 1719 into the Company of the Indies. Any one who wished to buy shares in this must have four shares in the original company. The new company obtained from the government the contract to collect the indirect taxes and to coin the money; it even undertook to pay the national debt. Such appearance of financial power deceived almost every one. There was a mad rush for shares. They rose from 550 livres to 18,000. When they had reached 5000, Law issued 300,000 more at this price. In order that there might be currency enough for these enormous transactions, he flooded the country with bank-notes, unmindful of the necessity of being able to redeem them, for he believed that if the government made them legal tender there would be no danger. The regent appointed him controller-general of the finances. Soon afterward the stockholders, suspecting that they had paid too much for the company's shares, began to sell. The government could do nothing to check a sudden fall in the value of both shares and bank-notes. The first bank had been founded in 1716, the bubble burst in 1721. Law was obliged to leave France and

a few years later died in poverty. The English South Sea company had been formed to trade with the Spanish colonies. By the Treaty of Utrecht, England gained the right to the contract for importing slaves into these colonies; she had also received the privilege of sending a ship to the annual fair at Porto Bello. People thought that by buying the shares of the company they could have a part in the boundless wealth of the Indies. Parliament voted that those who held government notes of indebtedness could exchange these for shares. By August, 1720, shares which sold originally for £100 brought £1000. But they fell even quicker than they had risen. Several of the ministers who had lent government support to this wild enterprise were disgraced by its collapse.

299. The Italian Question. — The settlement at the close of the War of the Spanish Succession had satisfied neither the Emperor Charles nor King Philip. Charles had gained most of the Italian heritage; but he wished the rest, as well as Spain and the Indies. Philip V. wished to reunite the Italian lands to Spain. At this time there was no united Italian people, there were only Savoyards, or Piedmontese, Genoese, Lombards, and Venetians in the north, Neapolitans and Sicilians in the south, with subjects of the pope, the grand duke of Tuscany, and other princes in the centre. The Genoese hated the Piedmontese, whom the Lombards also distrusted, because the duke of Savoy seemed bent on absorbing one state after another. Venice had lost its energy and seemed merely anxious to keep out of the quarrels which involved its neighbors. The emperor was already negotiating to exchange Sardinia for Sicily, and the duke of Savoy, so recently made king of Sicily, was not strong enough to refuse so bad a bargain. The king of Spain was determined to prevent the exchange. His queen, Elizabeth Farnese, was the only heir of the duke of Parma and feared any increase of Austrian influence in the peninsula. Philip sent a fleet and troops in 1717 to seize Sardinia, and a second, a year later, to seize Sicily; but this brought England, Holland, the emperor, and,

strangely enough, even France into alliance against him. The reason for the French action was this. It was not expected that the little Louis XV. would live, and the Regent D'Orleans desired to succeed to the throne. Philip of Spain resolved to make good his own title to the French throne, and in consequence the regent was ready to oppose Philip's other schemes. Before such an alliance Philip was obliged in 1720 to yield. The emperor gained Sicily, and the duke of Savoy became king of Sardinia, a title which his descendants retained until they exchanged it for the title of king of Italy. Philip was acknowledged, even by the emperor, as king of Spain, and his wife's rights in Italy were safeguarded.

300. The Polish Succession. — By the Peace of Nystad, in 1721, Russia had gained the eastern shore of the Baltic as far south as Courland. The Sweden of Gustavus Adolphus and of Charles XII. ceased to be a dangerous rival. The candidate of Charles for the Polish throne, Stanislaus, had, with the aid of Russia, been driven away and Augustus of Saxony reigned undisturbed until his death. Meantime Stanislaus had gained a new supporter in France, for his daughter Marie had become the wife of Louis XV. Augustus died in 1733, and immediately France secured the election of Stanislaus. Russia and Austria resolved that Augustus III. of Saxony should be king; and so the War of the Polish Succession began. This war was important because it strengthened Russian influence in Poland, but especially because it led to further changes in Italy. France and Spain entered into the Family Compact by which the two Bourbon kings agreed to defend each other's interests. In the Italian campaigns the king of Sardinia helped the French and the Spaniards. When peace was made in 1735 Stanislaus received the duchies of Bar and Lorraine in lieu of Poland. This was the same as giving them to France, of which his only child was queen. The duke of Lorraine was to become grand duke of Tuscany on the death of the last of the Medicis. Parma and Piacenza were to go to the emperor, but Don Carlos, son of Elizabeth Farnese and Philip V., was to receive the kingdom

of the Two Sicilies, as Naples and Sicily were called. The king of Sardinia took as his reward one or two strips along his eastern frontier. This settlement lasted for over a century, in spite of temporary changes.

301. England and Spain. — Meanwhile the hatred of Englishmen for Spain became uncontrollable. It was caused by the conflicts between English traders and the Spanish colonial officers. Like most other countries in the eighteenth century, Spain did not allow foreigners to trade with her colonies. Only as a result of war had she permitted the English to send a ship to the annual fair at Porto Bello and to possess the contract for the importation of slaves into her colonies. The English merchants did not content themselves with sending a single ship; they despatched others which transferred their cargoes to this ship by night. They also smuggled goods into many places besides Porto Bello. The Spaniards had a right to complain, for the English government would not have allowed Spanish ships to trade in New York harbor. But when English smugglers were caught and shut up in Spanish prisons, there was a great outcry in England. This was increased by Captain Jenkins, who declared that the Spaniards had cut off his ear, and, to prove it, showed a committee of the Commons an ear which he had carefully preserved in a box. Sir Robert Walpole, who had been England's chief minister for nearly twenty years, and who thought peace was altogether the better policy, was in 1739 forced to yield to the clamor of the war party. In this way the war "of Jenkins's ear" was begun. Before long it was merged in a much greater struggle.

302. An English Prime Minister. — Although Walpole was really prime minister in the later sense of the words, he always repudiated the title. He had become first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer in 1721. At that time the ministers regarded themselves as all equal in authority. For some years the king had ceased to preside over meetings of the cabinet, chiefly because George I. could not understand English. Walpole, as first lord of the treasury, held the purse-

strings, and he actually had greater influence with the king than the other ministers. After a time his "primacy" was



HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1741.

The view faces the Speaker, with the Ministry on his right and the Opposition on his left. At this time the House of Commons sat in St. Stephens.

undisputed. This was important, because, since the reign of William III., the ministers had in several instances been really chosen rather by the House of Commons than by the king.

William was obliged to take a Tory ministry and Anne a Whig ministry at a time when otherwise they could not have persuaded the House to do what they wished. If the ministers were to represent the House of Commons, it was well that they should be united under a single leadership. In this way, also, the king was more likely to accept their advice, and the day had not yet come when he must accept it whether he liked it or not. Walpole always worked through the House of Commons, but he built up his majority in it by rewarding his followers with offices, and, probably, by directly purchasing their votes. When at last, in 1742, a majority even of one vote was brought together against him, he resigned.

303. Prussia. — While Walpole was strengthening the resources of England, another statesman was creating out of the scattered dominions of Brandenburg-Prussia a powerful monarchy, capable of becoming the rival of the House of Hapsburg and of taking a place among the strongest states of Europe. This statesman was King Frederick William I., who ascended the throne in 1713. His father, the first king of Prussia, had loved the pomp of royalty. Frederick William cared rather for a large, well-trained army and a full treasury. His first act was to dismiss useless officials and flunkeys, cut down the expenses of the court, and set an example of rigid economy and tireless industry. When he discovered that the nobles of East Prussia were paying only one-sixth of the taxes due, he ordered a new assessment for the whole province. In those days the royal domains amounted to about one-third of all the land in the kingdom, and the income from them equalled the income from the taxes. By requiring a more careful management of the forests, by improving the methods of cultivating the fields, he added two million dollars to this source of revenue. Lands desolated by war or pestilence he resettled with colonists. When the Protestants of Salzburg were driven from their homes by an archbishop more anxious for the unity of the faith than for the prosperity of his people, Frederick William sent commissioners to take them under his protection, treating



them as his subjects from the moment they accepted his offer of homes, paying the expenses of their journey, and compelling the archbishop to indemnify them for their losses. He also sought to guard from the tyranny of the lords the peasants who had finally sunk to the condition of serfs. These serfs were not as well off as the mediæval serfs in France or England, for they could be driven from their lands. The king attempted, especially on the domain lands, to free them from this danger, but his efforts were thwarted by officials who sympathized with the lords. His chief anxiety was to have enough recruits for his army, and he wanted the army to be composed of his subjects rather than of foreign mercenaries. He assigned to each regiment a certain district from which to recruit its ranks, and compelled the sons of nobles to attend his military school to be trained as officers. At his death, in 1740, his army numbered eighty thousand, and in his treasury were twenty-five million dollars. The work of Frederick William enabled his son, Frederick the Great, to use the opportunity offered by the emperor's death, in 1740, to add to Prussia's territories and to show that the new kingdom must henceforth be reckoned with.

304. The Austrian Succession. — Charles VI. left as heir to his estates a daughter, Maria Theresa, whose husband, Francis of Lorraine, had become grand duke of Tuscany. He had feared that his death would be the signal for an attempt to divide the lands of the Austrian Hapsburgs, as the death of Charles II. of Spain had led to the division of the Spanish Hapsburg heritage. His own states readily agreed to accept as their sovereign the young heiress, and he had persuaded the different European courts to guarantee this arrangement. No sooner was he dead than nearly all these courts discovered some reason for repudiating their promises. The elector of Bavaria wanted Bohemia, the elector of Saxony Moravia, the king of Spain the Farnese inheritance in northern Italy. France saw an opportunity to tear up the Treaty of Utrecht and to place upon the imperial throne the elector of Bavaria, although it

had been expected that Francis of Lorraine would be elected emperor. But the greatest menace to the young queen came from another quarter. Frederick of Prussia saw that this was the time to seize Silesia, a fair country which his ancestors had disputed with the Hapsburgs. He thought it would be best to march his armies into Silesia and to negotiate afterward. Such were the causes of the War of the Austrian Succession, which began in December, 1740, two months after the emperor's death. By 1744 a war between England and France had made the struggle more general. The only one to receive any gains was Frederick, who forced Maria Theresa to cede Silesia. France succeeded in making the elector of Bavaria emperor, but when he died was unable to prevent the election of Francis of Lorraine. Although French armies gained victories, they were offset by the triumph of England on the sea, from which French merchantmen were driven. Nothing could be done to save the colonies from English attacks. The war was ended in 1748 by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

305. America and India. — In America this war was called King George's War. Shortly after it began, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, with an army of volunteers, captured the fortress of Louisburg, which commanded the entrance of the St. Lawrence River. When peace was made, the colonists were chagrined to hear that Louisburg had been given up in exchange for Madras, a trading station in India which the French had captured. Besides Madras the English East India Company had important stations at Bombay and Calcutta. One of the French stations was at Pondicherri on the Coromandel coast south of Madras. Just before the war began, the new governor, François Dupleix, had carefully fortified Pondicherri. Owing to the help his predecessor had rendered to the nawab of the Karnatik, he was considered a native prince as well as manager of a trading station. With the aid of a French fleet he captured Madras. When the nawab tried to compel him to give it up, he defeated the natives with his little army of Europeans and trained natives or sepoys. This

made him feared and respected throughout southern India. His prestige was increased when he succeeded in beating off a British attack on Pondicherri. The peace satisfied him no better than it did the New Englanders, for each was obliged to surrender a cherished prize. Above all he wished to keep his army together and for this purpose he began to take part in the struggles of the native princes for supremacy. Soon, though there was peace between England and France, war began again in India between the French and English East India companies. In America, also, there were causes of trouble, for the boundaries between the French and the English colonies had never been settled. Each claimed the Ohio and the Mississippi valleys. Consequently in India and in America, as well as in Europe, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was little more than a truce.

SUMMARY

I. Commercial Bubbles. — 1. John Law: (*a*) indebtedness of France; (*b*) Law's bank; (*c*) his "mergers"; (*d*) why the bubble burst. 2. South Sea Bubble: (*a*) English desire to share the wealth of the Indies; (*b*) government lends support to scheme, consequences.

II. Struggle for Territory. — 1. Echoes of War of Spanish Succession: (*a*) divisions of Italy; (*b*) Austria's desire for Sicily; (*c*) Spain wishes to recover all her heritage; (*d*) settlement of question, origin of kingdom of Sardinia. 2. Polish Succession: (*a*) France takes Sweden's place in Polish affairs; (*b*) use of Lorraine as indemnity for King Stanislaus; this, virtually, annexation to France; (*c*) further settlements in Italy. 3. England and Spain: (*a*) Spanish colonial policy; (*b*) conduct of English sailors; (*c*) outcry against Spain. 4. The Austrian Succession: (*a*) development of Prussia under Frederick William I.; (*b*) desire to divide the Hapsburg heritage; (*c*) Frederick the Great in Silesia; (*d*) England and France drawn into struggle; (*e*) consequences in England and America.

III. Constitutional Development in England. — 1. Walpole's career. 2. Advantage of the system of government which he helped to organize.

IMPORTANT DATES

1720. Beginning of kingdom of Sardinia.
1735. Lorraine becomes virtually part of France.
1740. Accession of Frederick II. in Prussia; beginning of War of Austrian Succession.
1748. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

FURTHER STUDY

General References, in addition to histories of separate states already mentioned: Hassall, *Balance of Power;* Parkman's *Half Century of Conflict;* Hunter's *Brief History of the Indian Peoples.*

PARAGRAPHS:

298. Mississippi Bubble: Perkins, *France under the Regency*, Chs. 13, 14; Parkman, *Half Century of Conflict*, I., 304 ff.; *South Sea Bubble*, Lecky, I., 348–351; Colby, No. 88.

299. Italy: Hassall, 49–56.

300. Poland: Morfill; in relation to France, Kitchin, III., 400–405.

301. Spanish Colonial Trade: Bourne, *Spain in America*, Chs. 18, 19.

302. Walpole: Macy, Ch. 36; Morley's *Walpole;* Colby, No. 90.

303. Prussia: Frederick William I., Henderson, II., Ch. 3; Tuttle, I., Chs. 10, 11. See paragraphs **100**, **156**, **202**, **238**, **250**, **276**, **291**, for previous growth of Prussia.

304. Austrian Succession: Frederick's claim on Silesia, Tuttle, II., 61–67; French policy, Perkins, I., 176 ff.; influence of sea power, Mahan, 264, 279–280; Colby, 93.

305. India: career of Dupleix, Perkins, I., Ch. 9; Hunter, 176–179; Malleson, *Dupleix.*

Additional Reading: Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, 8 vols.; Carlyle, *Frederick the Great*, 6 vols.; Seeley, *Expansion of England;* Perkins, *Louis XV.*, 2 vols.

CHAPTER XIX.

COLONIAL EMPIRES GAINED AND LOST

306. The Struggles Renewed. — The Peace of 1748 did not last long because the Austrians did not consider Silesia permanently lost, and because the English and the French had postponed rather than settled their conflicts in India and America. The Seven Years' War, called in America the French and Indian War, was really the second part of the struggle which began when Frederick II. invaded Silesia. Shortly after it opened France abandoned her ancient rivalry with the House of Hapsburg and put her armies at its disposal to accomplish the ruin of the new Prussian state. Weakened by the double task of a struggle in Europe and one on the sea and in the colonies, she paid for the venture by the loss of her North American colonies and by the destruction of her power in India. Her finances became so burdened that discontent hurried her people toward revolution. England's success was almost as ruinous as the failure of France, for it led the English parliament to try to strengthen her new empire by levying taxes upon the colonists for the support of a standing army in America, a policy which provoked them to insurrection. Prussia maintained her position in Silesia, and Austria was obliged henceforth to suffer this dangerous rivalry for the control of Germany.

307. Dupleix. — The news of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle put an end to the war between the English at Madras and the French at Pondicherri, but it did not prevent their fighting as partisans of rival native princes. India was nominally under the rule of the Mughal emperor of Delhi. In the Dec-

can, the peninsula south of the Nabada River, a governor or vassal king reigned with his capital at Haiderabad. One of his vassals was the nawab of the Karnatik, whose capital was at Arcot. These vassals of high and low degree were as independent of their emperor as were the vassals of Charles the Simple in the Frankish empire of the tenth century. Such a weak government offered an opportunity for pushing the influence of an outside power backed by well-trained soldiers. In 1749, at the time when Dupleix should have dismissed his soldiers, he saw an opportunity to employ them in furthering the cause of claimants of the thrones of Haiderabad and Arcot. His little French army, supported by carefully taught sepoys, was too strong for the undisciplined hordes of the native princes. When his candidate was undisputed master at Haiderabad, he was himself looked upon throughout southern India as the "ever victorious." In the Karnatik only, he was not triumphant. The English took up the cause of a rival nawab, and Dupleix was unable to dislodge them from Trichinopili, a stronghold south of Pondicherri. It was in France, however, that his plans were undone. He was considered by the managers of the East India Company and by many influential men as a wild dreamer. The French government was also anxious to avoid a new war with England. Dupleix seemed on the point of success in the Karnatik when a commissioner arrived in India, in 1754, authorized to arrest him and to abandon nearly all the advantages which he had gained by diplomacy or by war. He was taken back to France to die in poverty and disgrace. His English enemies imitated his methods, and to this they owed some of their success in creating an empire in India.

308. Fighting in America. — The sacrifice of Dupleix failed to prevent war with England. In May, 1754, two months before his arrest, there had been a fight in the Virginia woods which made a conflict inevitable. Both the English and the French claimed the valley of the Ohio and of the Mississippi. This region had been explored first by the French

in their efforts to discover the mouth of the Mississippi. They had made a settlement at New Orleans and had several trading stations at Kaskaskia, Detroit, and other places. Unfortunately for them all the inhabitants of Canada and the Mississippi Valley together did not number a tenth as many as the English colonists along the Atlantic from Massachusetts to Georgia. These colonists claimed the western valleys. Several of their original charters had mentioned the South Sea as their western boundary. Such a question was more likely to be settled by war than by argument. When Virginia granted land on the Ohio to an Ohio Company, the French aroused themselves to prevent an invasion of their domain. On the site of Pittsburg they constructed Fort Duquesne, named after the governor of Canada. It was a portion of the French force sent to accomplish this task that fought with a party of Virginians under George Washington. Although war was not formally declared for two years, both the French and the English strengthened their forces in America. A small English army under General Braddock was sent in 1755 to capture Fort Duquesne, but it was defeated and its commander mortally wounded. On the sea the English seized French merchant vessels and even war-ships. Not until after this did Louis declare war.

309. Austrian Plans of Vengeance. — When Frederick II. discovered that Maria Theresa was planning to reconquer Silesia, he looked about for allies. He knew that the Tsarina Elizabeth was anxious to destroy him and that the elector of Saxony, who was also king of Poland, was in the plot. Sweden with her Pomeranian lands was his natural enemy. During the War of the Austrian Succession he had been little helped by the French. He concluded that his safest course would be to ally himself with the king of England, who desired that the electorate of Hanover should have a strong defender in Germany. At first the agreement with England went no further than a pledge, taken by both allies, to keep foreign armies out of Germany. Frederick did not look upon this

agreement with England as an abandonment of his alliance with France, but Louis XV. considered it as a new and more startling example of faithlessness. Twice during the previous war, Frederick had left France in the lurch, making a separate peace with Austria. His conduct was a strong argument for giving up the old enmity with the Hapsburgs and making an alliance with them. To Maria Theresa, if she hoped to recover Silesia, such an alliance was necessary now that England had joined Frederick II. A treaty was made in 1756 which pledged the two countries to defend each other's territories. This of itself amounted to a revolution in diplomacy because France had opposed Austria ever since the marriage of Mary of Burgundy and the Emperor Maximilian. A year later it was transformed into an alliance to aid Austria in the recovery of Silesia. Although France was promised a few towns in the Netherlands, the treaty was a fatal blunder, for France needed all her resources to save her colonies and trading stations from the English. Already the tsarina had allied herself to Maria Theresa, on the understanding that Russia was to have East Prussia. Russia and Sweden acceded to the second treaty between France and Austria, determined to reduce Frederick to the position held by his ancestor, the Great Elector.

310. War, 1756. — Frederick, finding himself threatened from every side, tried to end the war by a sudden occupation of Saxony, followed by an attack upon the Austrians before the Russians could come to their assistance. Although the Saxons resisted long enough to give Austria time to prepare, their army was forced to surrender and to become a part of the Prussian army. Frederick's attack upon Austria failed disastrously. His troops were beaten by the Austrians while the Russians defeated another of his armies. By the middle of 1757 his cause seemed lost. Even Berlin was raided. The Hanoverian army had been beaten by the French, who remained in possession of the electorate, threatening Brandenburg from the west. Suddenly the situation changed. In November and December Frederick gained the victory of Rossbach over the

French and of Leuthen over the Austrians. Just at this time William Pitt, a great war minister, took charge of English affairs. Pitt made a new treaty with Frederick, promising to pay him £670,000 a year, and to send more troops to Europe. But the cordon of enemies drawn about Frederick's little kingdom seemed still to threaten him with ruin. Victories and defeats alternated. His subjects were becoming exhausted. The English subsidy was not enough to meet the enormous expenses. Fortunately for him the allies distrusted one another so much that they could never quite agree how best to attack him. Louis XV. persisted in intriguing in Poland against the Russian party, and consequently the tsarina would not allow the Russian troops to march too far beyond the Polish frontiers. Moreover, France was crippled by a constant succession of disasters in the colonies.



WILLIAM PITT.

First Earl of Chatham. Born, 1708; died, 1778. Entered parliament in 1735. Leading member of the Newcastle ministry in 1757, during the Seven Years' War. His son, William Pitt, was prime minister from 1783 to 1801 and again from 1804 until his death in 1806.

311. French Defeats in India and America. — These disasters might not have occurred had the French not been occupied with the war against Prussia. The English had the advantage that their war fleet was larger, so that they could more easily forward soldiers to America and to India. In America, because of the energy of the French commander, Montcalm, the French were at first successful. In 1758 numbers began to tell. Louisburg and Fort Duquesne were obliged to surrender. The year following General Wolfe defeated Montcalm on the heights above Quebec. Wolfe and Montcalm were both mortally wounded. Quebec surrendered, and shortly afterward all Canada submitted. The French colonies in the West India Islands were also taken, one

after another. In India the French had not lost all the advantages which Dupleix had secured. They tried to assist the subahdar or governor of Bengal in his war with the English, whose station was at Calcutta, but the subahdar would not take their advice. Early in the war, in June, 1756, one hundred and forty-six English captives were nearly all suffocated by being crowded into a small prison, the "Black Hole of Calcutta." Led by Robert Clive, the English defeated the subahdar at Plassey a year later, and, after the manner of Dupleix, replaced him by a candidate of their own. But unlike Dupleix, they demanded of the new ruler so much money that not all the gold and jewels in his great treasure-house could half pay the sum. Clive, a few years before, had been a clerk upon a small salary; now he received £200,000, and land with an annual income of £27,000. So greedy did the English become after their early successes that whole villages fled at the approach of even English merchants. While Clive was gaining control in Bengal, Eyre Coote's victory at Wandiwash had opened the road to Pondicherri, which was obliged to surrender in 1761. This was the end of the French empire in India.



ROBERT CLIVE.

Born, 1725; died, 1774. Entered service of East India Company as clerk in 1743. Captured Arcot, capital of the Karnatik, in 1751, blocking the plans of Dupleix. Governor of Bengal, 1758, 1765–67. Made Baron Clive of Plassey in 1760.

312. Peace. — In 1762 France made a last effort by renewing the Family Compact with Spain, but this only involved Spain in her misfortunes. Havana and Manila were captured by English fleets. Meanwhile Pitt had resigned and the new



ministry was anxious for peace. The subsidy promised Frederick was no longer paid. The European states were so exhausted that peace was a mere question of detail. The treaty between England and France was signed at Paris in 1763. France lost all her colonial possessions in America save a few islands in the West Indies and off the coast of Newfoundland. She gave Louisiana to Spain, because Spain was forced to cede Florida to England. In India the French towns were returned by the English on the understanding that henceforth they were to remain simple trading stations. The Treaty of Hubertsburg ended the war on the Continent. By it Maria Theresa abandoned the hope of recovering Silesia. All the men and all the treasure lost in this part of the seven years' struggle had been wasted. The only power that had anything but losses to show for the immense effort was England. Her control of the sea was unquestioned, and her colonies were rivalled only by those of Spain.

313. French Finances. — The expenses of the war had greatly increased the English national debt, but they threw the finances of France into hopeless disorder. Even before the war began there was an annual deficit of about seventy-five million livres, equal at the present value of money to almost as many dollars. It became necessary to levy another "twentieth," to which a third was added before the end of the war. So many persons succeeded in escaping this tax that it produced little revenue. The only remedy would have been a thorough-going change in the system of taxes, so that the burden could be distributed equally over nobles, officials, townsmen, and peasants. Had the government attempted such a change, it would have been resisted by the judges in the parlements. They had come to look upon themselves as the last defence of the community against the despotism of the government officers. Whenever the king's council ordered new taxes collected, they refused to register the decrees until expressly commanded by the king to do this. Unfortunately they opposed with equal energy any attempt to shift the burden from the shoulders of the

third estate to those of the nobles or the clergy, for as judges they enjoyed the same privileges as the nobles. The king had promised that when the war ended the new taxes should cease, but he could not keep this promise, for the debts must be paid. Accordingly, the parlements joined in the outcry against the collection of the "twentieths." Their popularity was all the greater when the king's advisers began to scale down his debts or postpone payment. Finally the king resolved to reorganize the courts and to do away with the power of the judges to resist royal decrees. Such a reform was really desirable, although it looked as if the king were removing a last obstacle to complete despotism. If the parlements thwarted every attempt to change the system of taxation, France would be driven to bankruptcy and revolution. It was in 1771 that the new courts were organized. There had not been time to see how they would work before Louis XV. died, three years later.

314. The English Colonies. — For England the consequence of the war was quarrels over taxation, but not so much with her subjects at home as with her colonists in America. The English method of managing colonies was generous in comparison with the policy of other governments, but it was guided by the common notion that colonies existed for the benefit of the mother country. For this reason the colonists had not been allowed to trade wherever they pleased, and the manufacture of articles which the English merchants wished to sell to them was restricted. One English statesman declared that the colonists should not be allowed to manufacture even a horseshoe nail. At the same time their charters allowed them to have assemblies of representatives which could make the laws and vote the taxes. Often these assemblies got into controversies with the royal governors, much like the old controversies between parliament and the kings. When parliament tried to cut off the trade between New England and the French West Indies by levying a heavy duty on molasses, the New Englanders continued their trade in defiance of the royal officers. Even before 1763 the Navigation



Acts and similar laws had created considerable discontent in the colonies. When the war was over, the advisers of George III. concluded that there should be a royal army in America, which would be useful not only in defending the colonies against sudden attack, but in enabling the governors to enforce the revenue laws whether the local assemblies or the inhabitants liked it or not. The army, the ministry said, should be paid for by the colonists, but the necessary taxes should be voted by parliament rather than by the colonial assemblies. It was strange to expect that the colonists, who had been allowed to tax themselves for over a hundred years, would suffer this right to be taken away by parliament. Parliament had already imposed customs, but even these had been systematically dodged by American merchants. An attempt to increase them would be like the attempt of James I. to raise the rates of impositions, and an attempt to collect direct taxes was like his son's collection of ship money. In each case the government needed the money, but parliament had contended, as the colonists were now contending, that it should be obtained in the customary way. Unhappily parliament did not discover that it was playing again the vain and tragic part of the Stuart kings. A few wise men like Pitt and Burke saw the blunder, but the majority of Englishmen in and out of parliament believed that its authority must be upheld in the colonies as well as at home. For this reason the ministry was able to pass the Stamp Act and the tax on tea. By 1774 the quarrel had gone so far that the government was obliged to put Massachusetts under military rule. The colonists retorted by sending delegates to a congress at Philadelphia to consider the proper method of defending themselves against such tyrannies.

315. Eastern Europe. — While France and England were absorbed by their difficulties, eastern Europe was brought to the verge of a general war by the schemes of Russia in Poland. The Russians had taken advantage of the fact that the Polish monarchy was elective, to place their candidates upon the

throne, and to keep the Poles from giving the country a better organization. At the death of the last Saxon king, in 1763, Frederick II. and the Tsarina Catherine II. had united to procure the election of Catherine's favorite, Stanislaus Poniatowski. These intrigues offended the party which was jealous for national independence, and particularly the more ardent Catholics, who did not wish to share their privileges with



either Protestants or members of the Greek Church. It was a custom in Poland that such parties should form a "Confederation," and remain in arms until their demands were granted. The new group was called the Confederation of Bar, and Catherine sent an army to destroy it in 1768. The Turks were already irritated against the Russians because Russian emissaries were stirring up the Christian peoples of the Balkan Peninsula, and the invasion of Poland led them to declare war upon Catherine, lest she gain too much power

on their borders. At first Catherine's armies were successful, and the ruin of the Turkish empire seemed at hand. Austria was alarmed, and she resolved to prevent the Russian army crossing the Danube. Frederick thought that this controversy might involve him also in war, and he proposed that Catherine should help herself to a part of Poland instead of despoiling the Turks. Of course, if Catherine agreed to this, Prussia and Austria must also have shares, so that the balance of power might be preserved. Frederick found a number of old Prussian claims with which to cover up the robbery, and he suggested that Maria Theresa hunt for similar rights in her own archives. The result was a treaty of partition in 1772. The most important land which Prussia took was West Prussia, connecting the old duchy with Brandenburg. Austria's principal share was Galicia. Russia received the greater part of what was called "White Russia," which had been formerly taken from the Russians by the duke of Lithuania. Except for the nobles this district was peopled wholly by Russians. In all the annexed districts the people were no worse off than before, because they had been serfs much oppressed by their lords. Indeed, Frederick the Great endeavored to better their lot. Although Poland was robbed to save Turkey, the Turks were obliged, two years later, in 1774, by the Treaty of Kainardji, to acknowledge the independence of the Tartar khans of the Crimean region, which prepared the way for its annexation to Russia shortly afterward. Russia also protected by treaty the rights of the Greek Christians within the Turkish empire, so that she gained the privilege of interfering in Turkish affairs.

SUMMARY

I. Obstacles to Peace in Europe, India, and America.—1. India: (*a*) condition of India in 1748; (*b*) means by which Dupleix established French supremacy in the Deccan; (*c*) causes of his eventual ruin. 2. America: (*a*) French claims and occupation; (*b*) English claims; (*c*) the first clash; (*d*) war in time of peace. 3. Austria and Prussia: (*a*) Austrian plans for revenge; (*b*) allies changing sides; (*c*) the blunder made by France.

II. The Seven Years' War. — 1. Frederick the Great: (*a*) near ruin; (*b*) things which saved him. 2. In America and India: (*a*) why France was at a disadvantage; (*b*) victories of Clive; (*c*) use made of his victories. 3. Terms of peace: (*a*) in the colonies; (*b*) case of Louisiana; (*c*) Silesia.

III. Consequences. — 1. France: (*a*) increase of debt, with new taxes; (*b*) who paid these taxes; (*c*) partial bankruptcy; (*d*) attempt of Louis to reorganize courts. 2. England: (*a*) desire that American colonies should bear part of the burdens of empire; (*b*) difficulties about raising this money through taxation; (*c*) English attempts to restrict American manufactures; (*d*) the meaning of the struggle.

IV. Eastern Europe. — 1. Poland: (*a*) Russian interference in Polish affairs; (*b*) consequent action of the Turks; (*c*) reason for scheme to divide Poland; (*d*) gains of each of the three parties to the treaty. 2. Russian advance toward the Black Sea.

IMPORTANT DATES

1754. Ruin of Dupleix in India: first fighting between French and English in America.
1756. Beginning of Seven Years' War.
1757. Battle of Plassey.
1759. Capture of Quebec.
1763. Peace of Paris.
1772. First partition of Poland.
1774. First Continental Congress. Treaty of Kainardji.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: see ch. 18.

Paragraphs:

307. Dupleix: see references, **305**.

308. French and English in America: especially Parkman, Montcalm, and Wolfe, I., 20–35.

309. Change of French Policy: Perkins, *Louis XV.*, Ch. 12; Kitchin, III., 451–455; previous relations of France and Austria, paragraphs **187, 200, 206, 212, 246, 249, 250, 284, 290, 304.**

310. Crisis in Frederick's Affairs: Henderson, II., 159–179; Tuttle, IV., Ch. 3.



PARAGRAPHS:

311. Quebec: Colby, No. 95; Kendall, No. 118; English in India, Hunter, 179–186; Malleson, *Clive*, 75 ff.; Colby, No. 94; Kendall, No. 117; Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, III., 513 ff.; war on the sea, Mahan.

312. Peace: terms, Hassall, 276–279.

313. French Finances: Adams, *Growth of French Nation*, 248–249.

314. English Colonial Policy, after 1763: English estimates in, Egerton, 177 ff.; Lecky, *American Revolution*, Ch. I.; Trevelyan, I., 27 ff.; control of commerce and industry, Beer, *Commercial Policy of England toward America*; Seeley, Lecture 4; contemporary discussion, Hart, II., Nos. 130–133, 138–153; Lee, Nos. 202–205.

315. First Partition of Poland: Hassall, 303–318; *Cambridge Modern History*, VIII., 521–524.

Additional Reading: Egerton, *Short History of British Colonial Policy*; Trevelyan, *American Revolution*, 3 vols.; Lecky, *American Revolution*; see also Ch. 18.

CHAPTER XX.

THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS

316. From 1774 to 1789. — The Seven Years' War did not end the struggle between France and England. The French took advantage of the revolt of the English colonists to humble their ancient enemy. The chief result to France was an enthusiasm for liberty and equality awakened by fighting for the liberties of the Americans. The sort of equality especially needed in France was equality before the tax-gatherer. Unfortunately there were so many persons, nobles, clergy, and thousands of office-holders, who were partly or wholly exempt from the payment of burdensome taxes, that each time a minister seriously undertook to remedy the evil he was speedily overthrown. Nothing but revolution would be strong enough to sweep away such special privileges. In other countries monarchs, as well meaning as Louis XVI. and of greater capacity, sought to substitute a single master, the State, for all the masters which the feudal system had created and who still clung to the remnants of their former greatness. These monarchs also sought to improve the conditions of life for their subjects, and therefore were called "enlightened despots." In England the inventive genius of a few men was devising instruments, — the steam-engine, the spinning-jenny, and the power-loom, which in later years did more than kings to push old rights and privileges into the background.

317. A New King in France, 1774. — Louis XV. had left a heritage of trouble for his grandson, Louis XVI. His life had been so evil, even in old age, that the people had almost ceased to reverence the monarchy. Taxes were burdensome and debts were unpaid. Many were loud in complaint who were not

ready to approve any plan of betterment which should cost them one of their privileges. The young king was well meaning and intelligent, but was not strong enough to persist in the face of opposition from his courtiers, and especially from the queen, Marie Antoinette, who inherited from her mother, Maria Theresa of Austria, energy but not sound judgment. Louis began well by making Turgot controller-general of the finances. Turgot was in fact, though not in name, prime minister, for he insisted that none of the other ministers should spend any money not set down in the plan of expenditure. Another reason was his resolution to make the changes necessary for the welfare of the country. These concerned him, since they were changes which touched either the system of taxes or the management of the finances or trade and industry. As minister of finances his motto was, "No bankruptcy, no increase of taxation, no loans." This meant that in order to establish a balance between receipts and expenditures there must be severe economy, something disagreeable to Queen Marie Antoinette, who wished her court life to be brilliant, and who wished to gratify her friends with splendid favors. Much could be accomplished by economy, but it was necessary to compel the clergy and the nobles to pay their share of the taxes if the government was ever to extricate itself from its debts.

318. Turgot's Reforms, 1774–1776. — Turgot would have attempted to distribute more equally the burdens of taxation had he not been driven from office within two years. He made a beginning by annulling the corvée, in accordance with which the great highways were built by the forced labor of the peasant farmers rather than by hired laborers paid from the proceeds of taxes collected from all property owners. He also allowed the grain merchants to buy and sell freely throughout France. Many had believed that the only way to prevent famine was to forbid grain to be sent from province to province without government permission, and to insist that it must always be sold at public markets, sometimes at prices fixed by

the government. Turgot's greatest reform was the abolition of corporations of artisans, composed of masters and provided with long sets of rules, which controlled the manufacture and sale of articles in almost all French towns. These corporations tried to keep in their hands a monopoly of business, and they frequently prevented ordinary artisans from becoming masters. Turgot's plans were denounced as revolutionary not only by the members of the corporations, but also by the judges in the parlements, which Louis XVI. had been obliged to reëstablish because many people thought them an indispensable safeguard against despotism. Turgot persuaded the king to compel the judges to register the decrees, but soon afterward Louis, weary of the outcry, dismissed him. Many of his reforms were immediately undone.

319. France and the English Colonists. — Before Turgot was dismissed in 1776, the king's council discussed the question whether France should help the revolting colonies of England. Turgot argued against a new war, because this would throw the finances of France into greater disorder; but Vergennes, the minister of foreign affairs, thought the occasion excellent for the recovery of the prestige France had lost in the Seven Years' War. The opinion of Vergennes was adopted, and an alliance would have been made immediately had not the defeat of the colonists on Long Island and the retreat through the Jerseys caused the French government to hesitate. Already money and arms had been secretly forwarded to the colonists. Lafayette and other young officers had crossed the sea to fight in the colonial armies. When the news of the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga reached France in 1777, an alliance was arranged. French assistance was especially valuable, because the king's advisers had learned during the Seven Years' War the value of a strong fleet and had been at work ever since preparing one for such an emergency. As soon as the English learned that a squadron under Count d'Estaing was to sail for America, they withdrew from Philadelphia and returned to New York. In 1779 they were too busy defending their West India Islands

to push the war against the colonists. In this year, also, the Spaniards entered the war, hoping to recapture Gibraltar. The French and Spanish fleets united in the Channel to cover an invasion of England. The invasion never took place, but the danger thoroughly alarmed the English.



COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.

Born, 1725; died, 1807. Served in the War of the Austrian Succession and in the Seven Years' War. Made commander, in 1780, of the French army in America. This statue, presented by the French nation, was erected in Washington, 1902.

320. England Forced to Yield.—Other dangers threatened the English. Their attempts to seize French or American goods found in neutral ships and to capture neutral ships trading with French or American ports, which they had declared to be in a state of blockade, but which they had not actually blockaded, led to war with the Dutch and to a league of northern states in 1780 headed by Russia, called the Armed Neutrality. The Irish Protestants took this opportunity to compel England to allow the Irish parliament to make the laws for Ireland and to regulate its trade. Even in distant India the English were on the defensive, for the sultan of Mysore, Haider Ali, invaded the Karnatik. He was assisted by a French fleet under Suffren. The English were better prepared for war than in the days of Dupleix, for Warren Hastings, the new governor-general, had reorganized the administration of the Company's affairs and had success-

fully extracted millions from the treasuries of dependent native princes. The most fatal blow at English power was struck by the Count de Grasse, when with a large fleet he beat off the English fleet at the capes of the Chesapeake while Washington and Rochambeau shut Cornwallis in at Yorktown. The independence of the American colonies was assured. After this England fought France and Spain only to obtain an honorable peace. The victory of Rodney over De Grasse in the West Indies in April, 1782, made this possible. The English were obliged to give Minorca and Florida to Spain, but retained Gibraltar.

321. The Result to France. — France gained little save glory from the war. It had cost fifteen hundred million livres. Necker, a Swiss who had made a fortune in banking at Paris, had been put in charge of the government finances shortly after Turgot's dismissal. He did not dare to suggest new taxes and raised the needed money through loans. This merely postponed the evil day.

322. Frederick the Great, 1740–1786. — In Frederick the Great, Prussia possessed a ruler capable of laying the foundations of a new prosperity. He had shown this by his energetic efforts to repair the ravages of the Seven Years' War, which in some districts had been as dreadful as those of the Thirty Years' War a century before. The money and stores which he had gathered for another campaign he immediately used in these ruined districts. To the farmers of Silesia he gave seventeen thousand horses and a great quantity of grain. He also remitted the taxes for half a year and rebuilt eight thousand houses. He sought everywhere for colonists to fill the places of the peasants who had disappeared. If he learned that a ruler was persecuting his subjects, or that calamity had overwhelmed a community, he sent agents there to persuade the people to emigrate to Prussia. A part of their expenses he paid, as his father had done in similar cases. Before his reign was over, about three hundred thousand persons had been added in this way to the Prussian population. As he had

sought to increase the prosperity of Silesia after it became a Prussian province, so he worked for West Prussia when it was taken from Poland. On the royal domains he renewed his father's attempt to better the condition of the peasants. The



FREDERICK THE GREAT.

Born at Berlin, January, 1712; died at the palace of Sans Souci, near Potsdam, August, 1786. This statue was erected in Berlin in 1851.

most that he could do was to free their children from the obligation of becoming domestic servants in the houses of the lords. His efforts to plant new industries in various parts of the kingdom were partially successful, though he injured trade

by acting on the ancient notion that every thaler spent in purchasing a foreign article was a thaler lost. In his schemes to keep the State out of debt he was no more honest than in his plans to rob his neighbors of territory. He repeatedly inflated the currency which he redeemed at a fifth of its nominal value. It was in such currency that he paid the salaries of his officials. Their lot was a hard one in other ways, for he treated them simply as his agents, brow-beating them brutally when they displeased him. Like his father he worked hard, giving his personal attention to everything. His petty tyrannies were forgiven by the Prussian people, and after his death in 1786 he was remembered only as "our Fritz." They knew that he was wholly devoted to the welfare of the State.

323. Joseph II., 1765–1790. — Maria Theresa had been Frederick's greatest rival; her son, Joseph II., became his imitator. Joseph believed that it had been through a strong, carefully centralized administration of his widely scattered provinces that Frederick had been so successful. He was more eager than Frederick to equalize the burdens of taxation and to destroy serfdom. When he ascended the throne at the death of his mother, in 1780, it was as if another Turgot had appeared, this time endowed with absolute power. Unfortunately he had not even as much self-restraint as Turgot, and he did not realize how stubborn would be the resistance of those whose privileges he struck down. He had been emperor fifteen years before he became king and he had found that it was impossible to put new life into an old confederation, where the princes were like independent sovereigns. He turned with all the greater enthusiasm to the task of reforming the dominions of the House of Hapsburg. Some of his reforms were inevitable sooner or later, but in attempting them he showed too little consideration for rights which nobles or clergy had long possessed. Such were the abolition of serfdom and the assessment of property so that all should be taxed equally. His attempt to unite different races, like the Hungarians, the Bohemians, the Austrians, and the Netherlanders, under a single administra-

tive system was futile, because he was attacking privileges which were not merely a cherished heritage, but also a fixed habit of life among these different peoples. He went so far as to make German the only language officially recognized throughout all his states. The most dangerous discontent was roused in the Netherlands. There each region had its charter, which all rulers from the time of the Burgundian dukes had confirmed. Joseph's attempt to organize the Netherlands as a single province provoked a rebellion in 1789, which was put down only by Joseph's successor. He had already attempted to exchange the Netherlands for Bavaria, but neither Frederick the Great nor France was willing to see a purely German territory added to the Hapsburg domains. After 1787 he was drawn by his ally, Catherine II., into a profitless war with Turkey, the failures of which saddened his last days.

324. Other Enlightened Despots. — Many other countries had "benevolent despots" and enlightened ministers who attempted to substitute a well-organized State for groups of communities with special charters, and for clergy and lords with special privileges. Such work was undertaken in Bavaria, Sardinia, the grand duchy of Tuscany, in Portugal, and even in Spain. Unfortunately the reforms never went very deep, for the rulers were more anxious to destroy obstacles to their own power than to lighten the burden which weighed down the peasants and the artisans.

325. English Inventors. — England had no "benevolent despot." Taxation was fairer than on the Continent. There were no serfs to free. It is true that the land was generally owned by the lords, and that parliament in making laws thought more of the interests of the nobles and the merchants than of the people as a whole. But the inventors were preparing an industrial revolution which would correct some of these wrongs, although it might create others and bring much temporary suffering. Manufacturing was still carried on according to the domestic system. Thread was spun on the spinning-wheel by women or children, while men wove the

cloth on hand-looms. These men might also own or lease a little land and be farmers as well as weavers. Their holdings of land were often in half-acre strips, scattered over the village fields, as had been the custom in the Middle Ages. This way of living was attacked on two sides: first by the inventors of machinery for spinning and weaving, second by the rapid enclosure or redistribution of strips into consolidated farms. Hargreaves devised his spinning-jenny in 1764. A little later Arkwright made a machine with rollers, while Crompton combined the two into the "mule" spinner. Up to this time more thread could be used in weaving than was readily spun on the wheels. Now spinning went on faster than weaving. After 1784 Cartwright restored the balance by constructing a power-loom. About the same time Watt was constructing steam-engines which could furnish the power. Ordinary spinners and weavers did not have money enough to buy these machines, so that the new enterprise passed into the hands of capitalists. Factories were built and there the machines were placed.

326. Cost of Industrial Revolution. — Since factories could produce cloth cheaper than the hand-loom weavers, both spinners and weavers were compelled to give up their work and either become mill hands or take other employment. Those who held land might try to remain in the country as farmers, but this was yearly becoming more difficult because new methods of farming were introduced which also required large outlays of money. Moreover, from the middle of the century the plan of enclosing the common fields was pushed forward rapidly. Under the old system the farmer might have rights of pasturage on the common fields. When these were enclosed he would receive a little more land or a sum of money as compensation, but it would be more difficult to gain a livelihood, and he would be tempted to sell his land and try his fortune in a neighboring town or in America. Many villagers held no land except the plot about their cottages. They had been wont, however, to pasture their cows or allow

their geese to wander in the common fields. If this right did not appear in the records, it vanished with enclosure. This is the meaning of the rhyme: —

> "The law locks up the man or woman
> Who steals the goose from off the common;
> But leaves the greater villain loose
> Who steals the common from the goose."

The new methods of agriculture and of manufacturing undoubtedly increased the wealth of the country: they may not have equally increased the worth of the men.

327. French Peasants. — In France from one to two fifths of the land were held by the peasants. Although there were only one or two hundred thousand serfs, and these in the northeast on the borders of Germany, the land of the peasants was still burdened with many feudal dues. Besides the *cens*, a sort of quit-rent, he was generally obliged to pay the lord of the manor a part of his crop. His grain must be ground at the lord's mill, his bread baked at the lord's bake-oven, and his grapes pressed at the lord's wine-press. In the Middle Ages the lord had done a favor to the community by providing it with such conveniences. This service had at length become a monopoly. The lord could also collect tolls upon the neighborhood roads, just as the king collected them on the highways. He could keep pigeons, which fed on the peasants' grain. He could hunt game over the peasants' fields. As the peasant himself could neither keep pigeons nor hunt, such privileges seemed hateful. These charges or burdens could not be regarded as rent, for the peasant was an owner rather than a tenant. In many cases the land which he owned had been free from them before the feudal system had given the lords an opportunity to establish by force rights over their weaker neighbors. In other cases they really represented an original rent charge. So many generations had passed since the origin of such rights that the peasants were beginning to look upon them as mere exactions. Many peasants lived upon

land owned by the Church or by the lords, which they cultivated on shares, according to what is called the métayer system. They were generally much worse off than the peasant owners, because they saw no reason to improve land that belonged to others and contented themselves with a meagre subsistence.

328. Taxation in France. — The greatest burden upon the peasants was the taxes. In collecting the *taille* a certain sum was assigned to a village and the money must be paid whether the peasants could afford it or not. Assessors when they chose fixed the sums each should pay. It did not take the peasants long to learn that if they appeared prosperous and if they made improvements upon their farms, the sum charged against them would be increased. Consequently they often seemed more wretched than they were. Neither the nobles nor the clergy paid the *taille*. Thousands of officials enjoyed the same privilege. The nobles paid the "twentieths," but they had the right to state the amount upon which they should be taxed, while the peasants paid according to the amount of the *taille*. It was the same way with the poll tax. One writer has calculated that these direct taxes took from the peasant over fifty per cent. of the income originally set down as liable to *taille*. In addition, the peasant must pay the tithe to the clergy, his feudal dues, the customs, and the taxes on salt. It is hard to see what he had to live on unless he had succeeded in concealing a part of his property at the outset. The clergy had for a lump sum purchased exemption from the poll tax and the "twentieths." They made what was called a "free gift," which was too small, considering that the Church held at least a fifth of all the land. Although the people seemed heavily taxed, the government did not receive a sufficient income. The principal reason was the small amounts demanded from so many wealthy persons. Another was the expensive method of collecting the taxes. Nothing but a thorough overhauling of the whole financial system could save France from disaster.

329. A Crisis in France. — Since Turgot's dismissal no serious attempt was made to better the situation until 1787. Over

ten years had been lost, for the ministers could only take up plans which the ill-will of Marie Antoinette and the courtiers had compelled him to lay aside. Calonne, the controller-general, proposed a stamp tax and a land tax, which would enable the government to abolish the "twentieths" and to reduce the *taille* and the salt tax. The stamp tax would rest chiefly upon the rich, whose business required the use of officially stamped paper. It was the land tax which would be particularly obnoxious to the clergy and nobility, because it was the *taille* under another name, and they regarded their freedom from such taxes as an honor due their rank in society. In order to give weight to these reforms Calonne persuaded the king to summon an Assembly of Notables, chiefly clergy, nobles, and royal officers, which was expected to hear and approve the plans. The Notables were more anxious to protect their privileges than to relieve the government from its difficulties. Their resistance caused Calonne's overthrow. His successor finally got rid of them, but found a more serious obstacle in the parlement of Paris, which registered the decrees only by express command of the king and immediately afterward voted that its act was not a real registration. The quarrel dragged on until in 1788 Louis XVI. vainly repeated his grandfather's attempt to suppress the parlements and to organize a new system of courts. There was no resource left except to call once more the states general and ask it to discover a way to save the country from bankruptcy.

SUMMARY

I. France, Futile Efforts for Reform.—1. Turgot's attempts: (*a*) character of Louis XVI.; (*b*) Turgot's problem; (*c*) his reform decrees; (*d*) reason for his dismissal, effect of this upon his reforms. 2. Effect of alliance with America upon French finances.

II. Beginning of the Revolutionary Era.—1. Why France was ready to assist the revolted colonists of England. 2. Results of French intervention. 3. Difficulties of England: (*a*) armed neutrality of 1780; (*b*) troubles in Ireland; (*c*) attacks in India; (*d*) successful expedition of Count de Grasse. 4. Terms of peace.

III. Benevolent Despots. — 1. Frederick the Great: (*a*) efforts to repair war damages; (*b*) assists immigration; (*c*) improves position of peasants; (*d*) his abuses of power. 2. Joseph II.: (*a*) his aims; (*b*) difficulties of the situation; (*c*) consequences of his efforts. 3. Reforms in other lands.

IV. Life of the People, in England and France. — 1. England: (*a*) condition of country people; (*b*) the domestic system; (*c*) industrial inventions; growth of factory system; (*d*) effect of this upon villagers; (*e*) effect of system of enclosing. 2. France: (*a*) burdens resting on peasantry; (*b*) their origin; (*c*) unequal distribution of taxes; (*d*) the crisis of 1787, 1788.

IMPORTANT DATES

1774. Louis XVI. becomes king of France.
1778. Alliance of France with American colonists.
1783. Independence of United States acknowledged.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: national histories already mentioned; Hassall; Lowell's *Eve of the French Revolution.*

Paragraphs:

317. The Heritage of Louis XVI.: *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, VIII., 79–82.

318. Turgot: Lowell, 235–238; Lecky, *Fr. Rev.*, 111–114; Morley, *Miscellanies*, II., 41–162; *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, VIII., 83–88.

319. France in the American Revolution: Trevelyan, *American Revolution;* Tuckerman, *Lafayette;* Mahan, 346 ff.

320. Final Struggle on the Sea: Mahan, Ch. 13.

322. Frederick the Great: especially Henderson, II., Ch. 5.

323. Joseph II.: Hassall, 351–358; Bright, *Joseph II.*, Chs. 3, 6; Whitman, *Austria.*

325, 326. Industrial Revolution: Cheyney, 203–223; Toynbee; Gibbins.

327. French Peasants: Taine, 329–348 (on Taine, see Morley, *Miscellanies*, III., 261–290); Lowell, Ch. 13; Tocqueville, 151–169; in the notes (333 ff.); Tocqueville gives a descriptive list of feudal dues; Arthur Young, *Travels in France.*

328. Taxation: Taine, 349–373, especially, 362–368; Lowell, Ch. 14.

329. Crisis in France: especially *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, VIII., 99–115.



Additional Reading: Taine's *Ancient Régime;* Tocqueville's *Old Régime and the Revolution;* Lecky, *French Revolution* (ed. Bourne); *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, VIII., Chs. 2–4; Toynbee, *Industrial Revolution;* Gibbins's *Industry in England.*

Review: Chs. 16–20; period, 1660–1788: downfall of Stuarts in England; opening of new struggle between France and England; division of Spanish heritage; struggle for control of Poland; attempt to despoil the Hapsburgs; a revolution in the colonies.

Special Reviews: —

I. Geographical Changes. — 1. Completion of French frontiers, by (*a*) acquisition of Franche Comté, and (*b*) of Lorraine. 2. Division of Spanish heritage: (*a*) Spain and the colonies; (*b*) Netherlands; (*c*) Naples; (*d*) Milan; (*e*) change in disposition of Sicily and Sardinia. 3. Prussia: (*a*) acquisitions in western Germany; (*b*) independent of Poland; (*c*) conquest of Silesia; (*d*) partition of Poland. 4. Austria; (*a*) gains in Hungary; (*b*) gains part of Poland. 5. Russia's conquests from Sweden. 6. Colonial gains and losses of England, France, and Holland.

II. New or Reorganized Monarchies. — 1. Great Britain: (*a*) change of dynasty; (*b*) union with Scotland; (*c*) parliamentary supremacy; (*d*) organization of cabinet government; (*e*) disastrous political quarrel with colonies. 2. France: (*a*) growth of absolute monarchy: (*b*) trouble about taxation. 3. Austria, permanent control of Hungary. 4. Prussia: (*a*) the Great Elector; (*b*) work of Frederick William I.; (*c*) Frederick the Great. 5. Beginnings of kingdom of Sardinia. 6. Russia reorganized by Peter the Great.

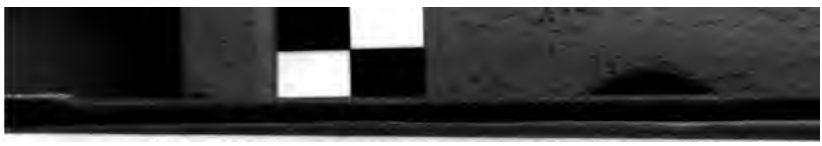
III. New Hundred Years' War between France and England. — 1. Prelude: (*a*) dependence of Charles II. upon Louis XIV.; (*b*) common antagonism against the Dutch; (*c*) danger from ambitions of Louis; (*d*) Louis after 1670 as champion of a Catholic restoration; (*e*) Revolution of 1688. 2. England enters league against Louis: (*a*) due to leadership of William III.; (*b*) effect upon relations of Canada and English colonies. 3. English coöperate in thwarting attempt of Louis to settle the Spanish question. 4. Echoes of War of Austrian Succession in India and America (King George's War). 5. Fight for the colonies; (*a*) schemes of Dupleix; (*b*) causes of conflict in America; (*c*) Seven Years' or French and Indian War; (*d*) the French take their revenge in 1778; (*e*) results of the conflict up to 1783.

CHAPTER XXI.

FROM REFORM TO REVOLUTION

330. Preparations for the States General in France. — Louis XVI. had found that neither his Notables nor his judges would aid him in planning a new and better system of taxes, and he had reluctantly decided to call the states general. While preparations were being made in the fall and winter of 1788–1789 for the elections, — no small task, since this body had not met for one hundred and seventy-four years, — it was necessary to find money to pay the difference between the king's income and his expenses. Necker, the great banker, was again asked to take charge of the finances. As the other bankers trusted Necker, he had no trouble in borrowing enough to keep the king from becoming bankrupt. He also persuaded the king to promise that henceforth the states general should meet regularly and should have the right to consent to plans of taxation. The nobles and the clergy were to pay taxes like the common people. Furthermore the third estate was promised as many representatives in the states general as the nobles and clergy were to have together. All Frenchmen began to think that the golden age had come again. They were filled with gratitude toward Louis as the restorer of liberty.

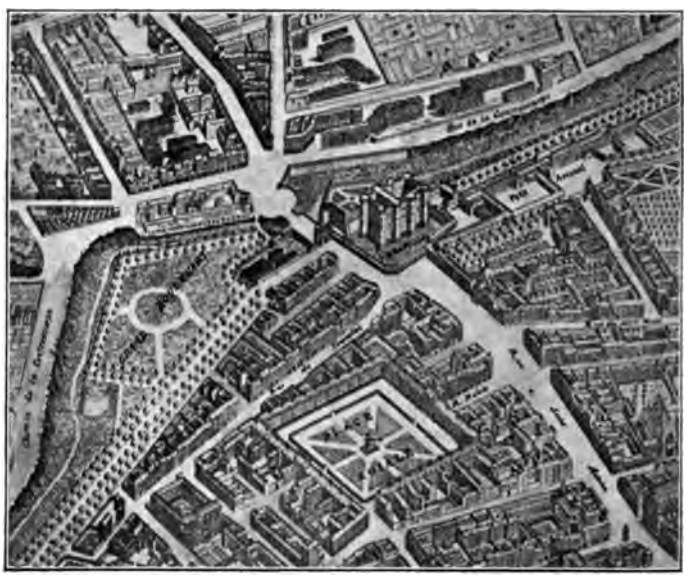
331. Plans of Reform. — Each group of voters, even the country parishes, was asked to draw up a *cahier*, or list of wants, so that the king and the states general might know what burdens must be removed. These *cahiers* show that the people chiefly desired a constitution in which their rights and the duties of the royal officers should be carefully set forth. They also asked that everybody, noble or peasant, be equal before the judge and the tax-gatherer. Only a few expressed the wish to take from the clergy or the nobles the honors which had for



centuries belonged to them. In addition to the *cahier*, many pamphlets and books were printed explaining what ought to be done. The most famous pamphlet was written by a priest named Sieyès. Its opening words were: "What is the third estate? Everything. What has it been thus far in political affairs? Nothing. What does it demand? To become something." This and other writings argued so boldly for the rights of the people and suggested so many changes in the manner of governing France that some of the nobles, bishops, and judges became alarmed. The queen also dreaded the states general. Influenced by those who had most to lose, the king began to fear he had promised too much.

332. Opening of the States General. — The states general assembled in Versailles, May 5, 1789. Many of the third estate were surprised that the king and his ministers said little about the promised changes in the constitution and much about his authority, about taxes, and paying the debt. They began to fear lest he should favor the nobles and the clergy in their struggle against changes which would deprive them of their special privileges and honors. This made the commons the more anxious to know whether all the deputies were to vote in one great assembly, since it would be of little use to have as many deputies as the nobles and clergy put together if there were to be three assemblies, each with a single vote in any final decision. There was a long wrangle between the three estates about this, and June 17, after several of the more liberal clergy and nobles had joined them, the commons declared their assembly to be the "National assembly" and invited the other two estates to join it if they would have a part in lawmaking. The king, more and more under the influence of the queen and the frightened courtiers, forbade such a settlement of the question. He was soon forced to yield, for the third estate stubbornly persisted in its decision, and many of the clergy and nobles gave up the attempt to hold separate assemblies. As the National assembly was to draw up a constitution, it was also called the Constituent assembly.

333. The Revolt of Paris. — Some of the king's advisers now persuaded him that if he did not support his authority by force, disobedience and riot would soon make government impossible. The increasing disorders in Paris were used as an excuse for gathering an army about both Paris and Versailles.



THE BASTILLE.

Section of an engraved map, of 1734, showing the Bastille, the rue Saint Antoine leading toward the Hotel de Ville, and, outside the Saint Antoine gate, the faubourg where many of the Revolutionary mobs were recruited. The attack on the Bastille was made from the courtyards at the right.

After the soldiers had arrived, the court party threw off the mask, and on July 11 Necker was dismissed and ordered to leave the country with all haste, and a new ministry, hateful to the National assembly, was formed. At the news of Necker's dismissal the streets of Paris were filled with excited people, some declaring there was to be a new Saint Bartholomew, others that the army was to attack the city. Taking

advantage of the confusion, thousands of vagabonds began to run through the streets seeking for plunder. As the royal officers did not dare to act, the electors — a convention elected to choose the Paris deputies to the states general — assembled at the Hotel de Ville and organized a city government. They also began to form a city militia. On the morning of July 14, a great crowd broke into the Hotel des Invalides and seized thirty thousand guns. A similar crowd attempted to procure arms at the Bastille. The commander of the Bastille was unable to persuade them to withdraw, and foolishly fired upon them. The mob thereupon laid siege to the fortress. After the electors had failed to stop the fighting, a part of the old city guard joined the besiegers. Although the Bastille was in no danger from successful attack, the commander surrendered. He and several of the garrison were savagely murdered in the streets by the mob. The triumph of the Parisians compelled the king once more to undo what he had done. He withdrew the troops, recalled Necker, and came to Paris, where he approved of the organization of a city government, with the astronomer Bailly as mayor and with Lafayette as commander of the city militia soon to be named the National Guard.



THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Born in Auvergne, France, 1757; died at Paris, 1834. Became a major-general in the American Revolutionary army in 1777. Commander of the Paris National Guard in 1789. When he fled from France after August 10, 1792, he was imprisoned by the Prussians and Austrians until 1797.

334. The Attack on Feudalism. — Since Paris had successfully defied the king, many other towns took affairs into their own hands. In some provinces the orders of the government

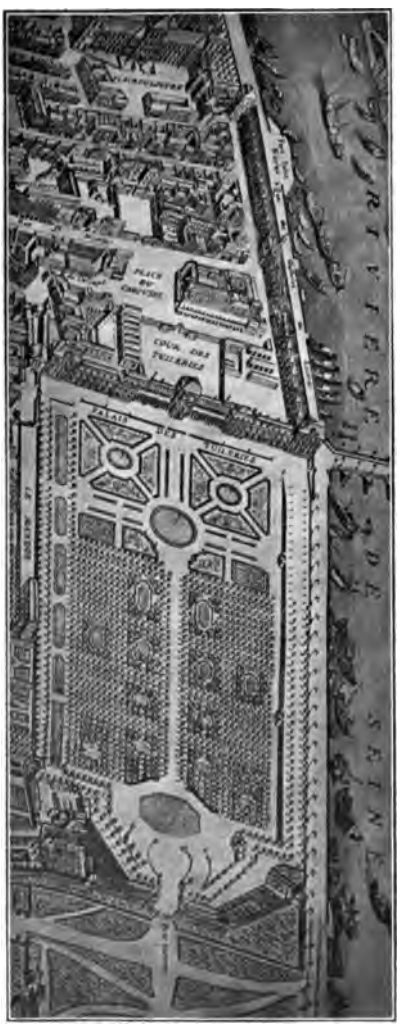
were disobeyed and the taxes could not be collected. Necker was at his wits' end to find money enough to pay the daily expenses. In many places the peasants attacked the châteaux and burned the papers or books in which were recorded the payments which ever since the days of feudalism had been made to the nobles by the holders of land. In an outburst of enthusiasm the National assembly tried to restore order by removing the burdens which had made the people revengeful. In the session of August 4 it voted to abolish all sorts of privileges, — the rights of the nobles over the peasants, all special claims to office, all advantages possessed by one class over another, and by a town or a province over its neighbors. All Frenchmen were to be equal before the law, with the same rights and the same burdens. It was also decided that the owners of certain rights — offices which they or their ancestors had purchased, or dues from lands which they had leased — were to receive money to make good their losses. Those whose rights had grown out of the possession of serfs could expect nothing. As many of these rights had been bought and sold for hundreds of years, it was not fair to take them from their present owners without payment. In order to carry out these decrees it was necessary to get the king's consent and to make laws about details, for a society like France could not be reorganized by a few decrees.

335. Reforms. — The assembly next drew up a Declaration of Rights, intended to secure to all the people just and equal treatment. The Americans had set the example in the Declaration of Independence and in the "bills of rights" prefixed to the state constitutions. This French declaration affirmed that "men are born and remain free and equal in rights." It also promised every one the freedom to think, to utter, and to print what he believed. No one was to be arrested except for offences defined by law, and when arrested he was to be considered innocent until he was proved to be guilty. In spirit this declaration was similar to the decrees of August 4. The assembly succeeded in putting only a portion of these promises

into the form of laws. It established the system of trial by jury, and abolished cruel methods of putting criminals to death, substituting execution by the guillotine. It attempted to destroy some of the greater inequalities between men by abolishing titles of nobility and forbidding the use of coats of arms and liveries. The guilds which still retained some control over different trades were dissolved, and every man was free to pursue the trade he should choose. Commerce was helped by the abolition of the tariffs collected upon goods passing from province to province. Such taxes were henceforth to be collected only at the frontiers.

336. The King Brought to Paris, October 6. — Before the assembly began these useful reforms, it got into a violent controversy over the question whether the legislature should have two houses, like the English and the American legislatures, or only one, and whether the king should be allowed to veto bills. Paris was excited by the controversy, because the king had not yet accepted the decrees of August 4. Finally the assembly voted to have a single house, but gave the king the right of veto. The excitement was beginning to subside when the Parisians learned that a regiment had been ordered to Versailles. They suspected a new court conspiracy. They were also suffering for lack of bread. Thousands were out of employment. In their distress they easily listened to demagogues who told them that the king's advisers were to blame for all the trouble, and that if he were brought to Paris, where he could be kept away from the influence of selfish courtiers, there would be plenty once more. On October 5 a mob, composed at first chiefly of women, tramped out to Versailles, followed by the Paris National Guard, who had compelled Lafayette to lead them. In his alarm the king yielded to the clamor of the rioters and came with the queen and the dauphin to reside in the Tuileries. Henceforward he was really a prisoner.

337. The Emigrants. — This incident so alarmed moderate men that several prominent members of the assembly resigned, and Mirabeau, its ablest leader, began secretly to advise



THE TUILERIES.

the king how to restore his authority. Already many nobles had left the country, — the count of Artois, who was the king's brother, and several princes going immediately after the fall of the Bastille. Other nobles had been frightened away by the burning of châteaux. These were called *émigrés*, or emigrants. As they continued to receive their income from their estates and to spend it in foreign lands, many French workmen and shopkeepers, who had previously depended on them, were made poor. Some of the émigrés also tried to induce the Emperor Joseph and the king of Prussia to put down the Revolution.

NOTE. — Section of a map of 1734. The Tuileries were connected with the older Louvre by a long gallery. In front was the Place du Carrousel from which the principal attack was made August 10, 1792. Behind lay the Tuileries Gardens, opening on the Place Louis XV., renamed the Place de la Révolution and now called the Place de la Concorde. It was on this square that some of the first fighting took place, July 12, 1789. Here, also, many were guillotined in 1793 and 1794. The Constituent assembly held its sessions in the Manège (at the left of the picture) from November, 1789.

338. Newspapers and Clubs. — If the assembly hesitated to go on with its great changes, it was hurried forward by the newspapers and the clubs. A few of the newspapers tried to keep things as they were, but those which cried out for change had the most influence. Many politicians edited newspapers, which were like pamphlets, containing a description of what had been said in the assembly or in the clubs, with little news and no advertisements. The most famous of these papers was the *Moniteur*. Another, *L'Ami du Peuple*, or Friend of the People, was published by Marat, and was all the while calling on the people to rise against the king or the assembly or the Paris government. The principal political club met at the convent of the Jacobins and was nicknamed the Jacobin Club. Three years later it was controlled by violent revolutionists. The best known of these men was Robespierre, already a member of the club, but as yet without much influence, for the club also contained leaders like Mirabeau and Lafayette. As the Jacobin Club had branches all over France, it did a good deal to make Frenchmen think alike, and the things it wanted the assembly to do generally had to be done. There was also the Cordelier Club, named from the monastery where its sessions were held. Danton was its most prominent member.



COMTE DE MIRABEAU.

Born, 1749; died, April, 1791. Already famous for his adventures and his writings when the Revolution began. The ablest statesman of the Constituent assembly.

339. Local Government. — One of the greatest changes made by the assembly was the division of France into eighty-three departments, replacing the older division into provinces and generalities. Each department was named for some natural

feature, generally a river or mountain range. The boundary lines of the old provinces were retained as far as possible, for the people preferred to call themselves Bretons, or Picards, or Burgundians, rather than inhabitants of the Finistère, the Somme, and the Coté d'Or. The departmental governments were expected to manage their local affairs and to act as agents of the central government in carrying out the laws and in collecting the taxes. A similar form of local self-government was granted to the colonies. As there was no sure way of compelling officers to enforce laws which they did not approve, it often happened that departments became almost independent of the central government. This has been called "administrative anarchy." It was as if Congress should intrust to the states the enforcement of United States laws and the collection of taxes. In the same way each town or commune, whether large or small, had its own government, and often acted independently of the department, or of the central government. This was especially true of Paris, for the Parisians thought their opinions should be followed because they had done so much for the Revolution at the beginning.

340. Church Property. — By another change, in some ways more important, the Church, formerly a half independent body, became a company of officials paid by the State to perform the religious duties assigned to them. One of the reasons for this was the desire to use the vast property of the Church in paying the national debt and in meeting the daily expenses of the government. It was feared that if the people were compelled to pay in taxes the heavy cost of all the reforms which were proposed, the Revolution would become unpopular and its enemies would triumph. Accordingly Church property was declared national property in November, 1789. The cathedrals, parish churches, and a few monastery churches were to be maintained as parish churches and all the other lands and buildings were to be sold.

341. Paper Money. — It was difficult to devise a way to sell so much property at once without selling at a heavy

loss. Furthermore, buyers were afraid that if the enemies of the Revolution got the upper hand, a new assembly would be chosen which would declare the sale of Church property wrong and would compel its return. To relieve them of this fear it was decided to sell the land to the towns, which were to pay the government in notes. The towns would be able to give a safer title to would-be purchasers. But there was an-



AN ASSIGNAT.

This note promises to pay 1000 livres ($200) at the office of the Extraordinary Fund, with interest at 20 *deniers* a day, the security being the National Domains, pledged to the reimbursement of such notes.

other difficulty; money was scarce, possibly it would take a long time to sell enough land to enable the towns to redeem their notes and so help the government to pay its expenses. Since the government could not wait, the assembly voted in April, 1790, to issue notes of its own, called assignats, or assignments upon the proceeds of the land sales, and bearing interest at three per cent. The leaders declared that this was not paper money, that it was safer than notes redeemable in gold, for gold might be stolen, but land could not be stolen. They

promised to issue assignats, to the value of only four hundred million livres, while the land was worth many times that amount. It was not six months before they decided to issue eight hundred million more, and they and their successors in the Legislative assembly and the Convention voted other issues until the assignat was as worthless as Continental money during the American Revolution. Meanwhile much land was sold. It used to be thought that this passed into the hands of the peasants and helped to build up a body of small farmers, but it has been shown that quite as often the land was bought by rich men in town or country.

342. Reorganization of the Church. — After taking the Church property the assembly undertook to change thoroughly the organization of the Church. In what was called the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy," adopted in July, 1790, all the dioceses were made to correspond with the departments, cutting down the number of bishops and archbishops from one hundred and thirty-four to eighty-three. All these prelates as well as the priests were to be elected as if they were ordinary civil officers. They could not look to the pope for his consent to their appointment, as had been agreed by Francis I. in his concordat with Pope Leo X. The monasteries had already been closed. To many pious Frenchmen, as well as to the king, all this seemed wrong. They thought that any change in the organization of the Church should be made by a Church council. It was certain that the pope would not agree to the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy." Indeed, Louis signed it only because he was told that if he did not, there would be an insurrection. As nearly all the bishops declared openly against it, the assembly, in November, drew up an oath of submission which the clergy were to take or be deprived of their positions. All except four bishops refused the oath. About forty-six thousand priests also refused it. The assembly ordered elections to fill the places made vacant. After much trouble new bishops and priests were chosen. They were called the "constitutional" clergy or, by their enemies, the "intruders," while the others were named "non-

jurors." In some parishes the intruders did not dare appear unless they were protected by soldiers. In other places it was the non-jurors who were roughly used. Thus France was divided into two bodies which feared and hated one another. Although the king had signed the law, he did not dare to receive the sacrament from a constitutional priest. He also thought that the assembly had gone too far and began to plot how he might upset much that had been done.

343. The King and the New Constitution.— The king had grown weary of his captivity. He could not take a walk even in the Tuileries gardens without being attended by guardsmen. With the aid of one of his generals he gathered an army near the northern frontier. He thought that if he could reach this army, he could appeal to its loyalty for support against the revolutionary politicians who had taken away his power. If the army also failed him, he could ride across the frontier into the dominions of his brother-in-law, the Emperor Leopold. In June, 1791, he escaped from Paris, and drove as far as Varennes, almost within the lines of the army, but was stopped and brought back. The assembly did not at once restore him to authority. Enthusiastic revolutionists began to talk of dethroning him. Some of them even suggested a republic. July 17, a multitude gathered in the Champ de Mars, a great field where a year before on the first



LOUIS XVI.

Born at Versailles, 1754; executed at Paris, January 21, 1793.

anniversary of the fall of the Bastille a festival of Federation had been held. Here a petition for the king's dethronement was displayed. The Paris municipal officers, thinking that another insurrection was being prepared, ordered the National Guard to disperse the mob. In the confusion the guards fired into the crowd and many persons were hurt in the stampede which followed. This "Massacre of the Champ de Mars" stirred up hatred among the more violent men against the well-to-do Parisians, who were anxious for good order and were willing to compromise with the king. The assembly concluded that it had gone too far and attempted to make the constitution more satisfactory to Louis. When the completed constitution was presented to him in September, he accepted it, because he hoped in this way to gain time until he could persuade the emperor to interfere in his behalf.

344. The Legislative Assembly. — October 1, 1791, the new legislature, called the Legislative assembly, took the place of the National or Constituent assembly. The Constituent had unwisely voted that none of its members could accept an election, and so a set of untried men were to manage the government. Most of those who were chosen were more enthusiastic for the Revolution than even the members of the Constituent. It was improbable that they would please the king or make his situation more agreeable than he had thought it in the spring. Indeed, in November they attacked the two classes of persons whom he regarded as his stanchest, though not always his wisest, friends, — the émigrés and the non-jurors. In one decree they declared the émigrés who should remain assembled on the frontiers to be conspirators, and in another they provided for a stricter surveillance over non-juring priests. To these measures he refused his consent. After this there could be no peace between the assembly and the king.

SUMMARY

I. Hopes of Betterment. — 1. King's promises: (*a*) periodical meetings of states general; (*b*) increased influence for third estate; (*c*) equality of taxes. 2. Popular plans: (*a*) *cahiers;* (*b*) a constitution; (*c*) equality before the law; (*d*) greater political power.

II. Why Reform became Revolution. — 1. Conflict between nobles and third estate: (*a*) question of voting; (*b*) reasons why king took sides with nobles; (*c*) success of third estate; (*d*) court party attempts to use army; (*e*) revolt of Paris; (*f*) war on the châteaux; (*g*) king and queen forced to reside in Paris.

III. What Reforms the Revolution made Possible. — 1. Program of August 4: (*a*) abolition of feudal privileges; (*b*) difficulties about carrying this out; (*c*) equality of taxation; (*d*) eligibility to office. 2. Declaration of Rights: (*a*) freedoms, — thought, speech, press; (*b*) safeguards of justice. 3. Abolition of guild system. 4. Freer trade. 5. Local government: (*a*) division into departments; (*b*) provision for local self-government. 6. Reorganization of Church: (*a*) Church property made national property; (*b*) assignats as a method of sale; (*c*) attempt to reorganize the Church by Civil Constitution of Clergy.

IV. Resistance of Old Order. — 1. Emigration. 2. Non-juring clergy. 3. Flight of king: (*a*) object; (*b*) effect upon public opinion; (*c*) attempt to bring about his deposition; (*d*) nature of king's acceptance of constitution; (*e*) his veto used to protect non-jurors and émigrés.

IMPORTANT DATES

1789, May 5. Meeting of states general.
1789, June 17. States general becomes National assembly.
1789, July 14. Fall of Bastille.
1789, August 4. Declaration abolishing the feudal system.
1789, October 6. King and queen forced to reside in Paris.
1791, June. Flight to Varennes.
1791, October. Meeting of Legislative assembly.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: Histories of France; brief histories of the Revolution, by Matthews, Morris, or Gardiner; Stephens, *European History, 1789–1815;* Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe;* Rose,

Century of European History and *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era;* Anderson, *Constitutions and Documents;* University of Pennsylvania, *Tr. and Rp.*

PARAGRAPHS:

330. Necker's First Measures: *Cambridge Modern History*, VIII., 115–118.

331. Cahiers: specimens in *Tr. and Rp.*, Vol. VI., No. 5; selection from pamphlet by Sieyès, *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., No. 1, p. 32.

332. Opening of States General: vivid impressions in Young's *Travels in France*, 151 ff.; Jefferson's letters.

333. Paris Uprising: Stephens, *French Revolution*, I., Ch. 5; new city government, Bourne, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, January, 1905.

334. Decrees of August 4: Anderson, No. 4; *Tr. and Rp.*, Vol. I., No. 5, pp. 2–6; Taine, I., 149–154; but especially Viollet in *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, VIII., 715–721.

335. Declaration of Rights: Anderson, 58–60; *Tr. and Rp., Ibid.*, 6–8; compare with the first eleven amendments of the Constitution of the United States and with the "bills of rights" prefixed to the constitutions of Massachusetts and Virginia. See further, Bourne, American Constitutional Precedents in the Constituent Assembly, *Am. Hist. Review*, April, 1903.

336. October 5–6: Pasquier I., 60–61; Morris, I., Ch. 8; situation in January, 1790, Arthur Young, 287–310.

338. Newspapers: specimens in *Tr. and Rp., Ibid.;* Jacobin Club, *Ibid.*, 19.

340. Church Property: Taine, I., 167–175; Jervis, 30–42.

341. Paper Money: *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, VIII., 695–696.

342. Civil Constitution of Clergy: Anderson, No. 6, C; *Tr. and Rp., Ibid.*, 20–26; for earlier relations of Church to French State, see paragraphs **169**, **195**, **279**; Jervis, Ch. 3; Taine, I., 176–186.

343. King's Flight: his justification, Anderson, Nos. 12, 16.

344. The New Constitution: Montague in *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, VIII., 201–210.

Additional Reading: works of Stephens, Von Holst, Taine, Thiers, and Carlyle; *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, VIII.; Memoirs of Pasquier, Talleyrand, Mallet du Pan; Dumont, *Recollections of Mirabeau; Diary and Letters of G. Morris*, 2 vols.; Mahan's *Sea Power and the French Revolution and Empire*, 2 vols.; MacLehose, *From Monarchy to Republic in France;* Jervis, *Gallican Church and the Revolution;* Willert, *Mirabeau; Despatches of Lord Gower.*

CHAPTER XXII.

THE REVOLUTION AT WAR WITH EUROPE

345. Impression made by the Revolution. — The startling events in France were eagerly watched in other countries. Americans were interested because they had been revolutionists and were now actually organizing a new government, provided for in a constitution drawn up by a convention or constituent assembly. Lafayette, one of the Paris heroes, had fought for American independence and was Washington's intimate friend. Jefferson, the secretary of state, had been the American minister to France when the French Revolution broke out and had discussed their plans with the leaders of the National assembly. In England and in Germany there were many men, particularly poets like Burns, Wordsworth, and Klopstock, who thought a more glorious age was coming when men, freed from heavy burdens, would be happier and better. But, a little later, Edmund Burke, who had spoken in behalf of the rights of the American colonists, became convinced that the French were fatally wrong. His book entitled *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, published in 1790, declared that there could be no worse way to cure the ills of a nation. He also said that the privileges and dues which had been changed or abolished by the new laws were as sacred as ordinary private property.

346. Policy of European Monarchs. — The Revolution did not at first alarm the sovereigns of Europe. They even discovered an advantage in it, because it crippled a kingdom which had long sought to dominate its neighbors. Furthermore, nearly all were deeply engaged in war, — the Austrians and the Russians against the Turks, and the Swedes against

the Russians. The Austrians were also harassed by a revolution which had broken out in the Netherlands. But when Louis XVI. was forcibly brought back from Varennes, the Emperor Leopold, brother of Queen Marie Antoinette, decided it was time for other monarchs to restore royal authority in France. England, under the guidance of William Pitt, refused to interfere. The Tsarina Catherine of Russia hoped that both the emperor and Frederick William of Prussia would become involved in a quarrel with France, in order that she might be free to carry out her designs upon Poland. Leopold understood this and was relieved when the acceptance by Louis of the new constitution gave him an excuse to abandon his plan of interference. Unfortunately, grievances which might bring on war still remained. Bands of émigrés were gathered on the frontier, trying to arrange an invasion of France. The German princes who had estates in Alsace and Lorraine had lost their feudal rights by the decrees of August 4, 1789, and refused to accept money from France in payment.

347. Declaration of War. — Many in the Legislative assembly thought that the only way to keep Louis XVI. from intriguing with other monarchs against the Revolution was to make war upon the Emperor Leopold, on the ground that he had threatened to interfere in French affairs and that he had not dispersed the armed émigrés. If the kings united against the revolutionists, they would appeal to the peoples of Europe. In such a war the kings would have little chance, for were not armies drawn from the people, and would they fight against their brethren? It was hinted that the king of Prussia might consider this a fine opportunity to cripple the Hapsburg enemy of the Hohenzollerns. In the midst of the discussion the prudent Leopold died and was succeeded by his son Francis. Louis was forced, April 20, 1792, to declare war upon him, not as emperor of Germany but as king of Hungary and Bohemia, for the assembly did not wish to fight Germany as well as Austria. Prussia would not listen to the French proposals and joined the Austrians. This was the beginning of a series



of wars which were to shake ancient Europe to its foundations, and which, before they were ended in 1815, were to involve even the United States and to lead to the insurrection of the Spanish American colonies.

348. Overthrow of Louis XVI., August 10, 1792. — France was unprepared for war. Thousands of officers, disgusted by the Revolution or frightened by their mutinous soldiers, had joined the émigrés. The assignats, or paper money, had begun to fall rapidly in value. The king and queen, believing that their only hope of safety lay in the success of the enemies of France, revealed to them the plans of the generals. At midsummer, just before the Prussians and the Austrians crossed the frontier, they published a manifesto declaring that all Frenchmen must at once return to the obedience of their king, that any town which resisted the invaders would be ravaged with fire and sword, and that Paris should be similarly treated if the king and queen were insulted or harmed. After such a mad proclamation it was difficult for any patriotic Frenchman not to look upon the king as in league with the enemy. This gave violent men their opportunity. They overthrew the Paris government, establishing a new Revolutionary commune, and on the following day, August 10, led the populace, with many national guardsmen from Paris or other cities, against the Tuileries. The king took refuge in the assembly, while his brave Swiss guards fought until they were ordered to cease firing. The palace was captured and sacked. The assembly suspended the king's authority and sent him to the Temple as a prisoner. Those who were still loyal to him were forced to submit or emigrate. Lafayette hoped to lead the army, which he had commanded since the opening of the war, to Paris, to put down the insurrectionary government, but his troops would not follow him, and he was obliged to cross the frontier as a refugee.

349. September Massacres. — The triumph of the mob placed the control of affairs in the hands of men like Danton and Robespierre, who were determined to treat the king's friends

as traitors. Hundreds of officials, nobles, and non-juring bishops and priests were crowded into the Paris prisons or into monasteries used as prisons. When one frontier fortress after another fell before the advancing Prussians, the populace



THE TEMPLE.

The Great Tower of the Temple, constructed by the Templars in 1222, confiscated by Philip IV. after 1307, demolished in 1811. Here the royal family were imprisoned. Marie Antoinette was later taken to another prison, the Conciergerie.

began to clamor for the lives of the prisoners. Bloodthirsty fanatics, like Marat, urged the people on. The assembly and the city officials were either indifferent or powerless. On Sunday, September 2, bands of desperadoes broke into the

prisons and killed the prisoners. For several days a systematic massacre went on. When quiet was restored, it was found that at least a thousand persons had been slain.



THE CARMELITE MONASTERY.

Here over one hundred and fifty persons, chiefly priests, including two bishops and an archbishop, were murdered, September 2, 1792. Many of them were thrust out of the doorway at the left and killed with swords or pikes at the foot of the stairway.

350. The Convention. — The insurrection of August 10 had destroyed the monarchy. France was actually a republic, although this fact had not been legally proclaimed. It was

necessary to call a convention which should form a republican constitution. When it met, September 20, this Convention was forced to give nearly all its attention to the ordinary business of government, leaving the question of a new constitution to be settled several months later. The ministers dared undertake nothing without the consent of the Convention. Its special task was rendered difficult by the quarrels between leading politicians, — the Girondins, named from the department which several of them represented, and the Mountain party, so called because its members occupied the high seats at the left of the hall. The Girondins were friends of Madame Roland, wife of the minister of the interior. They detested Danton and Robespierre, whom they held responsible for the massacres of September. During the period of the Legislative assembly they had belonged to the Jacobin Club, but now its members were their bitter enemies.

351. Defeat of the Allies. — The day the Convention met, the Prussian army was checked at Valmy. It was not a hard-fought battle, but it was a great victory for the French. The Prussians were already disgusted with the invasion. The émigrés had promised that they would find friends everywhere, but they discovered that the peasants were hostile and that the towns resisted stubbornly. What especially influenced the Prussian king was the conduct of Catherine, whose army had invaded Poland several months before. He felt that his troops should be on his eastern frontier rather than hundreds of miles away in France. His decision to retreat was not the only advantage gained by France. Other French armies overran the Rhine country, Savoy, and Nice. Dumouriez, the victor at Valmy, also defeated the Austrians in the Netherlands. Success so blinded the eyes of the Convention that it ordered the armies to march to the rescue of any people which wished to overthrow its tyrants, as France had done.

352. The New Crusade. — The leaders of the Convention soon discovered that the Netherlanders and the Germans did not wish the sort of liberty which French politicians, follow-

ing in the wake of the victorious armies, were attempting to force upon them, — heavy war contributions, persecution of priests and nobles, and payments in assignats. This reluctance the Convention attributed to the local aristocracy, and in December, 1792, ordered that the officials should be deposed and their places given to partisans of France, selected chiefly among the poorer classes, or *sans culottes*, who had everything to gain by revolution. When such a crusade for democracy



EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI.

According to a contemporary print. On the pedestal at the left was a statue of Louis XV. from which the square was named.

was proclaimed, Europe took alarm. Alarm turned to horror with the news that the Convention had tried Louis XVI. as if he were a common traitor, had declared him guilty, and had caused him to be executed January 21, 1793. There was soon no large state in Europe, except Turkey, which was not at war with the terrible republic. England had a special grievance, — the advance of the French armies toward the frontiers of Holland, her ally. The tide of victory turned. Dumouriez, the hero of Valmy, disgusted by the conduct of the French agents and defeated by the Austrians, attempted to lead his

army against the Convention. He failed, and early in April crossed the frontier with his staff, including Louis Philippe, a future king of France.

353. Poland. — France had attempted to carry revolution among her neighbors. They retorted by planning to rob her of territory. She could read her fate in the way Russia and Prussia were despoiling Poland. In 1791 Poland had adopted a new constitution providing for a monarchy strong enough to keep order at home and to defend the land against its enemies. The Tsarina Catherine wanted Poland to be weak, so that she might control the government or annex Polish provinces. The Russians overthrew the constitution, but in 1793 were obliged to share the spoil with Prussia. Prussia received the cities of Dantzig and Thorn, with Posen and Gnesen, and Russia a large part of Lithuania.

354. France in Alarm. — France took warning. To frighten conspirators the Convention, in March, 1793, established the Revolutionary Tribunal, a special court from which there could be no appeal. In order that these conspirators might be discovered, revolutionary committees were formed in every commune, and in the sections of the large cities. An executive committee, called the Committee of Public Safety, was chosen in April from the Convention, to control the ministers and see that whatever was necessary should be done quickly. In order to pay the heavy expenses, more and more assignats were issued. As these fell in value the government attempted to keep prices from rising by forcing bakers and other shopkeepers to sell below a fixed maximum price. Thus from the dangers into which the quarrels and the recklessness of the French leaders had plunged their country had grown a government every whit as arbitrary as the old government of the Bourbons and more tyrannical.

355. Civil War. — The dangers which threatened France did not check the wrangling of the Girondins and the Jacobins. The Girondins realized that Paris, managed by its most violent citizens, threatened the liberties of France, but their protests

hastened their own ruin. A new insurrection compelled the Convention, on June 2, to order their arrest. Several of them escaped from Paris, and made a vain attempt to arm the departments against the Jacobin city. A revolt in the western department of La Vendée, originally caused by the effort of the government to raise troops, spread into neighboring departments, supported by the monarchists and by those who wished their old priests restored. The armies of France were driven back from the frontier. The peril became so great that patriotic Frenchmen, even those who detested the Jacobins, dared not encourage resistance, lest a divided country might the sooner fall a prey to the foreigner.



DANTON.

Born, 1759, at Arcis-sur-Aube; executed at Paris, April 5, 1794. Minister of justice after August 10, 1792; member of the Convention; leading member of the first committee of public safety, April–July, 1793.

356. Reign of Terror.—In July, 1793, the government passed from the control of Danton and his friends into that of still more violent men, of whom Robespierre was the most influential. These men saw no way to save the country and maintain their own power except by frightening their personal and political enemies into abject submission. Little by little they brought on a Reign of Terror everywhere. It had long before been decided that any émigré or non-juring priest who returned to France should be put to death. Now, every one who had opposed the men in power, or who had been a noble, or was related to an émigré was declared to be a suspicious person, liable to immediate arrest. Arrest did not always mean death, but few of those once brought to trial before the Revolutionary tribunal were freed. In the fall and winter there was a constant series of executions

in Paris, — the Girondins, the queen, Madame Roland, Bailly, who was the first mayor of Paris, and many other distinguished persons. The rebellious cities of Bordeaux, Lyons, and Toulon were punished by butcheries of hundreds of citizens. Even such bloody deeds did not satisfy some fanatics. A group of them began to attack the Constitutional priests. They abolished the old calendar, substituting a new set of months named from the seasons, and a new era, beginning September 22, 1792. They endeavored to set up the worship of Liberty and Reason in place of the Catholic religion. The cathedral of Notre Dame was declared to be a Temple of Reason. Now that their political enemies had been crushed, the Jacobins quarrelled among themselves. Danton and his friends, who had tried to check the Terror, were sent to the scaffold in April, 1794. Robespierre was left apparently supreme, but only for a short time. So long as he lived his personal friends alone felt safe. He fell in a last attempt to destroy his rivals on the 9th *Thermidor*, — so the 27th of July, 1794, was named in the new calendar. During the last forty-nine days 1376 persons had been executed in Paris alone. The country was weary of such slaughter. The danger which had been its only excuse was over. French armies had again become victorious. They had freed the frontiers, and were once more invading the Netherlands, the Rhine country, and Savoy.



ROBESPIERRE.

Born at Arras, 1758; executed at Paris, July 28, 1794. Member of the Constituent assembly and of the Convention; leading member of the second committee of public safety, July, 1793–July, 1794.

357. France and America. — The outbreak of war between England and France had placed the Americans in a dilemma. During the Revolutionary War, when they had made an alliance with France, both countries had agreed to protect each other's territory on the western shores of the Atlantic. It was probable that the English would attack the French West Indies, and Washington was obliged to decide whether the agreement was still binding after Louis XVI., with whom the treaty was made, had been executed. Washington concluded that the United States should remain neutral, but it was difficult to maintain a fair neutrality, because the people eagerly took sides, some for England, but most for France. England had not yet surrendered the western forts, as had been promised at the peace of 1783, and now she undertook for a time to keep American ships from trading with the French West Indies. The anger against England would have been greater had not the French minister, Genet, used American ports to fit out privateers to attack English ships, and had he not insulted Washington when orders were issued to stop this violation of neutrality.

358. England. — The influential men of England were so alarmed by the success of the Jacobins, by the persecution of the Church, the wealthy, and the nobles, and by the rapid advance of the French armies, that they set their faces against change of any sort, even against a fairer representation of the people in parliament, or a repeal of the laws which burdened the Catholics and the dissenters, or the abolition of slavery and the slave trade. Supported by them, Pitt, who once had been the advocate of peace and reform, suspended the Habeas Corpus Act which protected men from arbitrary imprisonment, and, like the Jacobins in France, caused the adoption of laws which took away the liberty of speech, compelling every one to submit or be silent.

359. End of the Convention. — Although during the Reign of Terror the Convention had shared the cruel hatreds of its most violent members, it had done much that was useful. It

had organized a system of public schools, including the Polytechnic and the Normal School at Paris, and had adopted the metric system of weights and measures. It had abolished slavery in the French colonies. The law of inheritance which compelled parents to divide their property equally among their children was of more doubtful value, because it split up many farms into portions so small as to render farming much less profitable. After the fall of Robespierre the churches were reopened, but the Convention repudiated the promise to pay the salaries of the clergy. This meant a separation of Church and State, but since many of the revolutionists regarded the Church as the enemy of the republic, there was little religious liberty. The chief work of the later sessions of the Convention was the new constitution. This provided for a Directory of five men who were to govern the country, while the laws were to be made by two houses or councils, one of five hundred and another of two hundred and fifty. The Convention feared that its political enemies might control the new assemblies, and it ordered that at least two-thirds of their members should be chosen from its own membership. This brought on a new revolt in Paris in October, 1795, led chiefly by the royalists. One of the principal officers who suppressed the insurrection was Napoleon Bonaparte, a young Corsican, soon to become conqueror of Italy and master of France.

360. Triumph of France. — It was strange that all the European monarchies were not strong enough to conquer France. They might have succeeded had not each sought advantages distasteful to the others. The partition of Poland had angered the Austrians, and they determined not to miss their portion if there was another division. Had the Prussians been content with more Polish territory and allowed the Austrians to annex France north of the river Somme to the Netherlands these two monarchies could have worked together, but Prussia wanted Alsace and Lorraine. England, the paymaster of the allies, wished little on the Continent, but contented herself with seizing French colonies and building up her own

trade. As she interfered with neutral trade, the Europeans thought her policy selfish. An insurrection of the Poles, led by Kosciuszko, who had been an officer in the American Revolutionary army, caused the Prussians, in 1794, to withdraw their troops from the Rhine. The Poles were conquered and a final division of Poland was made, in 1795, between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. In the same year Prussia decided to make peace with France, on the understanding that Prussian losses of territory on the west bank of the Rhine should be balanced by the annexation of territory in western Germany. Holland was forced to make an alliance with France. Spain made peace in 1795 also, and only Austria, England, and Russia were left to fight the French. By their agreement with Prussia the French had made the Rhine their northern frontier, reaching what they called their "natural" limits. Whether they could compel the Austrians to make a similar agreement remained to be seen. Meantime the new territory was organized as departments and the people were brought under French law, which was, on the whole, a great advantage to them, for it put an end to their feudal burdens and made them all equal.

SUMMARY

I. Revolution and Europe. — 1. Early impressions: (*a*) in America; (*b*) in England; (*c*) among rival monarchs. 2. Policy of other states: (*a*) causes for alarm; (*b*) work of the émigrés; (*c*) attitude of Austria. 3. War: (*a*) as a means of coercing the king; (*b*) hopes of Prussian support; (*c*) far-reaching consequences of war.

II. First Consequences of War. — 1. Overthrow of monarchy: (*a*) distress of the people; (*b*) king's position compromised by manifesto; (*c*) insurrection of August 10; (*d*) causes of the September massacres. 2. The republic against Europe: (*a*) the new government; (*b*) Prussian retreat; (*c*) French offers of liberty; (*d*) decision to force revolution upon conquered territory; (*e*) execution of king as a challenge to Europe, with (*f*) general war; (*g*) echoes in distant Poland.

III. Reign of Terror. — 1. Causes: (*a*) treason; (*b*) distress; (*c*) party strife and civil war; (*d*) disasters in the field. 2. Methods: (*a*) arrest of suspicious persons; (*b*) executions; (*c*) punishment of rebellious towns; (*d*) attack on Catholic religion. 3. "The republic consumes her children": (*a*) Danton; (*b*) fall of Robespierre; (*c*) end of the Terror.

IV. Beginnings of Peace. — 1. Loss of friendship for France: (*a*) in America; (*b*) in England. 2. Order restored in France; (*a*) attempt to regulate relations with Church; (*b*) organization of a new government. 3. Prussia withdraws from the struggle. 4. Peace with Spain.

IMPORTANT DATES

1792, April. France declares war upon Austria (supported by Prussia).
1792, August 10. Louis XVI. overthrown.
1792, September 21. France declared a republic.
1793, January 21. Louis XVI. executed.
1793, June 2. Overthrow of Girondins.
1794, July 27. Overthrow of Robespierre; end of Reign of Terror.
1795. End of Convention. Peace with Prussia and Spain. Third Partition of Poland.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: see Ch. 21.

Paragraphs:

345. Impression of the Revolution: Hazen, *American Opinion of the French Revolution*; Dowden, *French Revolution and English Literature*; Morley's *Burke*, Ch. 8; Colby, No. 104.

346. Policy of European Monarchs: Lecky, *French Revolution*, 299–305, 314–356; Rose, *Revolutionary Era*, 59–61.

347. Declaration of War: Anderson, No. 19; see also Arthur Young, 356–358; motives of the French, Stephens, II., Ch. 2.

348. Manifesto of Brunswick: Anderson, No. 23; Mallet, 145 ff.; overthrow of the king, Gardiner, 114–118.

349. September Massacres: Stephens, II., 139–150; Taine's view, II., 198 ff.

350. The Convention: Gardiner, 124–129.

351. Valmy Campaign: Fyffe, 28–38.

352. French Foreign Policy: Gardiner, 130–135; Lecky, 441 ff.; Anderson, No. 28, A and B.



PARAGRAPHS:

353. Poland: *Cambridge Modern History*, VIII., Ch. 17.

354. Tribunals and Committees: Gardiner, 142–148; Anderson, Nos. 32–35.

355. Civil War: Stephens, II., Ch. 8.

356. Law of Suspects: Anderson, No. 41; Claretie's *Camille and Lucile Desmoulins*, biographies of Danton by Beesly and Belloc, of Robespierre by Lewes and Belloc; Morley's essay on Robespierre, *Miscellanies*, I., 1–133.

357. France and America: Channing, *Student's History of United States*, 296–303; the American neutral, Mahan, II., 199 ff.

358. Reaction in England: May, *Constitutional History of England*, II., 297 ff.; Dowden, Ch. 5.

359. End of the Convention: Fyffe, 68–69; Rose, *Napoleon*, I., Ch. 4.

360. Peace of Basel: Anderson, No. 48; explanation, Rose, 91–92, or Fyffe, 64–65; final partition of Poland; *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, VIII., Ch. 17.

Additional Reading: B. Mallet, *Mallet du Pan.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE RISE OF NAPOLEON

361. The War Spirit in France. — Long before the peace of 1795 had broken the circle of hostile states surrounding republican France, the French soldiers had ceased to fight merely in the defence of their country. As victory carried them far from their frontiers, they forgot in the fierce joys of conquest and pillage that they had set out as messengers of liberty and equality and of the brotherhood of man. Their officers saw in continued war the road to fortune. Influential politicians were determined that the Rhine and the Alps should become the frontiers of France. Austria, supported by some of the German princes, was the only dangerous enemy of the French on the Continent. England could not be directly attacked, for she was becoming more than ever mistress of the seas. There were two ways of attacking Austria, through southern Germany or in northern Italy. The French armies in Germany had little success, but in Italy they were triumphant under the leadership of Napoleon Bonaparte.

362. A New Leader. — Napoleon Bonaparte was twenty-seven years old in 1796, when he won his first victories. He was a Corsican, born after this island had been annexed to France. He was educated in the royal military schools. During the Revolution he learned to talk like a Jacobin, and Robespierre's younger brother had befriended him. He distinguished himself at the capture of rebellious Toulon, and in the repulse of the royalists who wished to overthrow the Convention. These successes won for him the command of the army of Italy; they also won for him the hand of one of the



most influential women of Paris, Josephine de Beauharnais, whose husband had died on the scaffold during the Terror.

363. Italy in 1796. — Italy was still divided into several states, of which the most important were the kingdom of Sardinia, including Piedmont; the duchy of Milan, held by the Austrians; the republic of Venice, occupying about half of Italy north of the Po; farther south, the States of the Church and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. This beautiful land had not been desolated by the Revolutionary war. Its prosperous wealth tempted the French soldiers, who were poorly fed and clothed by their bankrupt government. To them Bonaparte said, "Soldiers, I am to lead you into the most fertile plains in the world. There you will find honor, glory, and riches." Although his army was small, the wonderful young leader, by the rapidity of his marches, by always bringing more men than the enemy for the capture of each important position, speedily compelled the Sardinians to make a separate peace, drove the Austrians out of Milan, and forced each new army that sallied from the valleys of the Tyrol either to retreat or surrender. It was a hard struggle and was not ended until the spring of 1797, when Bonaparte advanced through the Alps toward Vienna and forced the Austrians to a truce.

364. Bonaparte's Policy. — Although General Bonaparte had allowed his officers and soldiers to plunder the country pitilessly, and although he had compelled the cities to send great sums of money and many works of art to Paris, the Italian blood that ran in his veins prompted him to encourage the Italian patriots who longed for a union of all the states of the peninsula. Out of the Austrian possessions, with some Venetian territory, and a part of the States of the Church, he created a republic, called, after the Roman manner, the Cisalpine Republic. But at the Peace of Campo Formio, in October, 1797, he did not hesitate to sacrifice the remainder of Venice to Austria, in return for the cession to France of the Netherlands. Austria was also to assist France in obtaining

from the imperial diet the abandonment of the lands west of the Rhine which had been conquered by the French armies.

365. War against England. — It was now the turn of the "giant corsair of the seas," as one of the French directors called England. In 1795 Spain and Holland became allies of France, and their ships, with the French fleet, outnumbered the English fleet. For a time England seemed in danger, but before the Peace of Campo Formio two English victories at Cape St. Vincent and at Camperdown had crippled the Spanish and the Dutch navies. It was at the battle of Cape St. Vincent in February, 1797, that Nelson first distinguished himself. His genius in directing the sea power of England rivalled Bonaparte's genius as a commander of armies. Since England could no longer be attacked directly, the French government despatched Bonaparte upon an expedition to Egypt with the vague hope that, if it were conquered, aid might be sent to the enemies of England in India, especially to the Sultan Tipú of Mysore. Immediately after the French landed in Egypt, in August, 1798, Nelson found and destroyed their fleet at Aboukir Bay. Bonaparte gained victories over the Mameluke warriors and the Turkish armies, but he was none the less a prisoner, for he had no means of taking his army back to France. When news came that France was in danger from a new European coalition, he left his army under the command of Kléber, in August, 1799, and, eluding the English ships, returned to France. Not long after Nelson's victory, the English in India attacked Tipú, killed him, and shared his possessions with friendly Indian princes. During the last three years the English had captured nearly all the French and Dutch colonies. Of the Dutch colonies, South Africa and Ceylon eventually became parts of the British empire.

366. Distress in England. — Although England's sea power saved her from a direct invasion by France, the war brought great distress upon the people. It was only the contractors and the capitalists who prospered. Even they were alarmed when the Bank of England was obliged to refuse to pay gold



on demand for its notes. The most serious danger grew out of the uprising of thousands of Irishmen tortured by the oppression and tyranny of their landlords and of the government. This rebellion was put down, and, in order that Ireland might be more easily controlled, the Act of Union was passed in 1800, taking from her the right to have a separate parliament.

367. Bankruptcy in France. — The distress of the English was as nothing compared with that of the French. The Convention and the Directory had continued to print assignats until the issues amounted to forty-five thousand millions. These notes had become worth less than one per cent. of their face value. A shoulder of veal cost six hundred and fifty francs, or one hundred and thirty dollars, and a bottle of ordinary wine, thirty francs. In 1797 the government declared that this paper was no longer legal tender and refused to receive it in payment either of taxes or of the public lands. The steady fall in value of the assignats had been especially bad for persons who had invested all their savings in government bonds and had been obliged to receive interest in assignats. For them worse followed. In September, 1797, the government divided the public debt into two parts, of which only one, called the "consolidated third," was treated as a regular indebtedness, while two-thirds were immediately paid in notes which were worth about one-twentieth of their face value.

368. French Politics. — France had other troubles. The dethronement of Louis XVI. did not make good republicans of all the citizens. The cruelties which were done in the name of the republic convinced some who had been at first eager revolutionists that the only hope for France was in a restoration of the monarchy with Louis's brother as king. As the secret enemies of the republic began to gain power, all who had profited by the changes, who had seen their feudal burdens disappear, or who had purchased the confiscated property of the Church and of the émigrés, became alarmed. Party con-

flicts were passionate, because men were struggling not about ordinary matters, such as taxation or the possession of offices, but about property, religion, and the form of government itself. Under the circumstances only a wise constitution, honestly carried out, could save the country from violent quarrels. The monarchists, or those who were suspected of being monarchists, got control of the council of Five Hundred, while the majority of the directors were uncompromising revolutionists. To retain their power the directors used the army, arrested over sixty councillors and sent them to Guiana, which was ominously named the "dry guillotine." This affair occurred on the 18th *Fructidor* (September 4, 1797), a month before the Peace of Campo Formio. Two years later the legislature retaliated, and two of the directors were forced to resign. As the politicians did not hesitate to call upon the army to settle their quarrels, the way was opened for some daring soldier to make himself master of the republic.

369. Overthrow of the Directory. — Bonaparte, upon his return to Paris, in October, 1799, found a movement on foot to change the constitution. Its leader was the Abbé Sieyès, author of the famous pamphlet, "What is the Third Estate?" Sieyès wished to decrease the power of the legislature and to increase that of the executive officers. To bring about the change he needed the assistance of a popular general who could control the army. Bonaparte readily entered into the plot. The risk was not serious, because the majority of the directors and of the council of Elders, or the Two Hundred and Fifty, favored the plan. Bonaparte was made commander of the troops in the military district which included Paris. In order that the supporters of the existing constitution, who controlled the majority of the council of Five Hundred, might be unable to call the Parisian mob to their aid, the two assemblies were convened in St. Cloud, a suburb several miles away. So violent was the opposition in this council that Bonaparte was greeted with cries of "treason" when he attempted to enter the hall. Soldiers were summoned to drive

out the councillors. Shortly afterward a few of the council of Five Hundred united with the council of Elders in appointing a commission to draw up a new constitution and in choosing three consuls to manage the government. This affair was called the 18th *Brumaire* (November 9, 1799). At the time many strong republicans, and among them Lafayette, thought that the republic had been saved from ruin at the hands of noisy demagogues.

370. The Consulate. — Bonaparte had been chosen one of the consuls. The new constitution was arranged to suit him rather than Sieyès, who had made the original plan. Instead of a Directory of five there were to be three consuls, of whom the first was to have nearly all the power, for he could appoint the ambassadors, the officers of the army and navy, the judges, and the government officials who were to manage local affairs. The laws were to be drawn up in a council of state appointed by him, and after they had been discussed by a tribunate and voted by a legislative assembly were to be examined by a senate, whose selection he controlled, to see if they complied with the principles of the constitution. Although ordinarily the consuls were to be chosen by the senate, this time they were appointed in the constitution itself, and Bonaparte was to be first consul. Immediately after the constitution went into effect, Bonaparte increased his own power by forcing the passage of a law that the local government of France should be intrusted in each department to prefects appointed by the first consul. The mayors of the towns were



NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

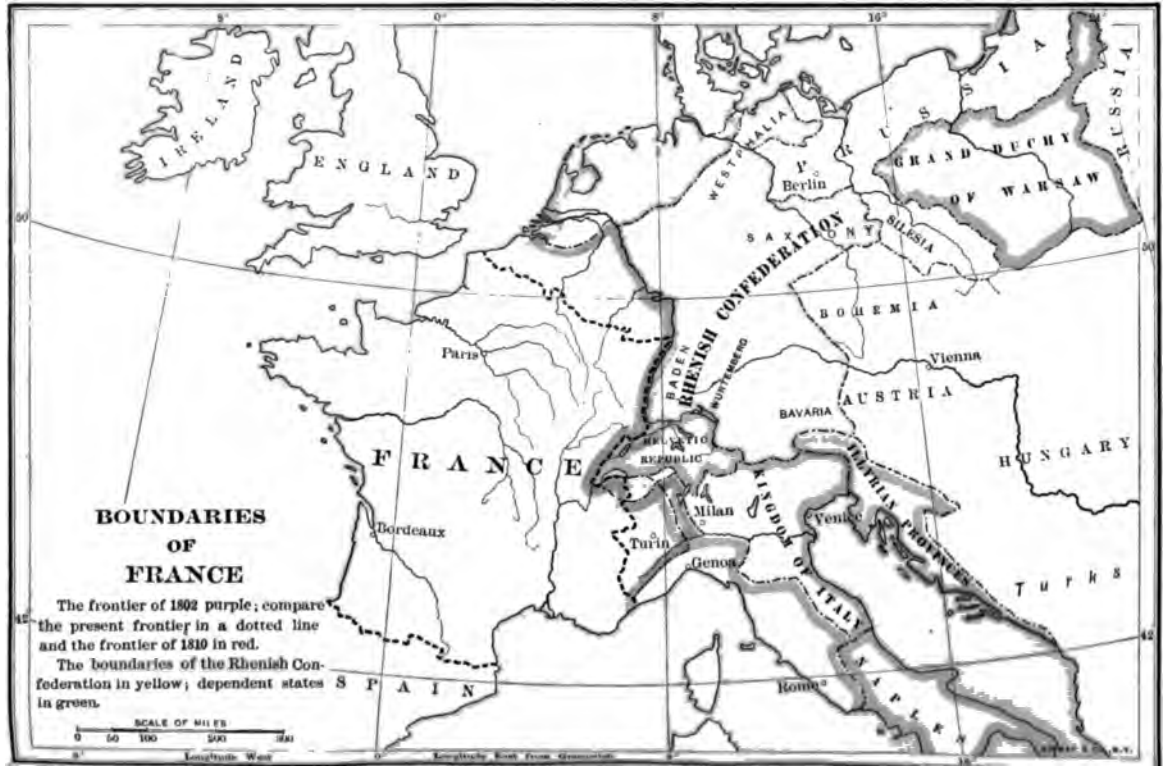
Born in Corsica, 1769; died at St. Helena, 1821. Commissioned lieutenant in the French army in 1785.

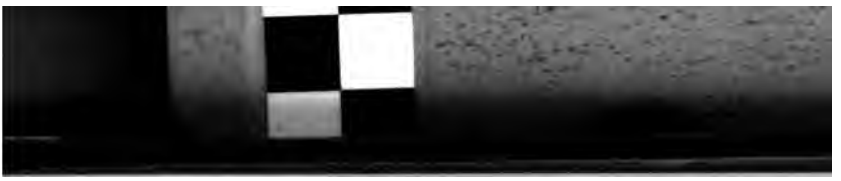
also to be appointed either by him or by the prefects whom he controlled.

371. The Concordat. — General Bonaparte already had more power than the old Bourbon kings, except over the Church. The refusal of the Convention to support the Church had left the constitutional priests in the same situation as those non-jurors who had dared to remain in the country or to return after the fall of Robespierre. They both belonged to private bodies not recognized by the State. Bonaparte was anxious to win the favor of pious churchmen by healing this schism and by restoring the Church to its former influence and splendor. At the same time he resolved not to abandon any parts of the civil constitution of the clergy which he thought were advantageous to France. He offered to the pope the right to institute the bishops, whom the first consul was to appoint. The fear that Bonaparte might favor the constitutional priests and ruin their more orthodox rivals, or might overturn the papal government at Rome led the pope to consent to such an arrangement, which was proclaimed in 1802. It was named a concordat, like the treaty between Francis I. and Leo X.

372. The Code. — Bonaparte had started a still more important work. This was the preparation in the council of state of a new code of laws. Before the Revolution the laws were different in different parts of the country. Many of these differences had been swept away by the Constituent assembly and the Convention, but the long-promised code was constantly deferred. When it was completed it benefited France as much as Justinian's code did the later Romans, for it defined in clear language all the civil rights and duties of the people. It benefited other countries also. Wherever during the coming years French arms or French influence was extended, the new legal definitions and arrangements were received.

373. Peace. — While Bonaparte was in Egypt, a new war had broken out with Austria, this time actively supported by Russia. French armies were at first everywhere driven back, but finally they again became victorious, so that France was


BOUNDARIES
OF
FRANCE
The frontier of 1802 purple; compare the present frontier in a dotted line and the frontier of 1810 in red.
The boundaries of the Rhenish Confederation in yellow; dependent states in green.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300
IRELAND
ENGLAND
FRANCE
SPAIN
Paris
Bordeaux
Berlin
WESTPHALIA
SAXONY
SILESIA
GRAND DUCHY OF WARSAW
RUSSIA
BOHEMIA
Vienna
AUSTRIA
BAVARIA
HUNGARY
RHENISH CONFEDERATION
BADEN
WURTEMBERG
HELVETIC REPUBLIC
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Venice
ILLYRIAN PROVINCES
KINGDOM OF ITALY
Turks
Rome
NAPLES



in little danger of invasion. To Bonaparte was left the glory of bringing the war to a close by the victory of Marengo in Italy, in June, 1800, followed as this was by General Moreau's equally brilliant victory at Hohenlinden in Bavaria in December. Austria was forced to sign the Peace of Lunéville early in 1801. A year later came the Peace of Amiens with the English, who found themselves without allies, burdened by a rapidly growing debt, and troubled by the suffering among the common people.

374. Reorganization in Germany. — Never had France played a greater part. Her influence was dominant in Italy, in Holland, and in Switzerland. Under her direction Germany was being reorganized. The treaties of Basel and Campo Formio had suggested that the states which had lost territory by the extension of the French frontier to the Rhine should be repaid by annexing territories to the east and north of the river. The Peace of Lunéville made it necessary to carry out this agreement at once. It was plain that the new lands would be found by taking away from the priest-princes, — archbishops, bishops, and abbots, — and from the Free cities, their rights as sovereigns, and by annexing their territories to the states which lay nearest them. France controlled the distribution of these lands, and the princes who were eager for gain or who feared loss hurried to Paris to make as good terms as possible. The result was the disappearance from the map of those Church states which since the days of Charlemagne and Otto had been characteristic of western and southern Germany. The process, completed in 1803, was called "secularization," and it was similar to what had taken place in northern Germany at the time of the Reformation, except that the bishops and abbots retained their property and their powers as Church rulers. At the same time many Free cities were absorbed. This was an important step toward the consolidation of Germany. France unconsciously was strengthening a rival state which would one day humiliate her.

375. Colonies. — Bonaparte took advantage of peace with England to restore to France a great colonial empire. A year

or two before he had received from Spain the promise of the Louisiana territory, which France had granted to Spain in 1763. With the port of New Orleans he hoped to control the growing trade of the Mississippi Valley, whether east or west of the river. To make good use of New Orleans it was necessary to restore French authority in the West Indies and particularly in San Domingo. During the Revolution this colony had been ruined by a slave insurrection, and now Toussaint Louverture ruled there in practical independence of France. A French army under Bonaparte's brother-in-law succeeded, in 1802, in overcoming open resistance. Toussaint was treacherously made prisoner and sent to France. But the French army was almost destroyed by yellow fever; its commander died. The blacks, alarmed by reports that they were again to be enslaved, rose in insurrection. Bonaparte's scheme had caused great excitement in the United States. The people who lived west of the Alleghanies had long been angry because their trade with the outside world was hampered by the Spaniards at New Orleans. They saw at once that the situation would be unbearable if a strong power like France got possession of the mouth of the river. President Jefferson declared that from the day "that France takes possession of New Orleans . . . we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation." Fortunately the stubborn resistance of the blacks of San Domingo disgusted Bonaparte with his dream of a colonial empire. He turned to his other schemes to increase French influence and strengthen his own power. It is hinted that to cover up a dubious retreat from San Domingo he hastened the beginning of the new war with England. As he could do nothing with Louisiana, he sold it to the United States, and so it came about that in December, 1803, the Spaniards turned over the territory to the French commissioner, only that he might turn it over to the Americans.

376. The Empire. — If during the early days after the 18th *Brumaire* Bonaparte dreamed of playing the part of Washington, the power he found in his hands after the adoption of the

consular constitution stirred within him an ambition of a different kind. He skilfully used the popularity which the Peace of Amiens brought him to obtain the consulship for life, with the right to name his successor. Two years later, in 1804, after the outbreak of war with England, a conspiracy to assas-



NOTRE DAME, PARIS.

Here Napoleon crowned himself, December 2, 1804, after being anointed by Pope Pius VII. It was in this church that the festival of the Worship of Reason had been held in 1793. Notre Dame is a Gothic church, principally of the thirteenth century.

sinate him led to another outburst of enthusiasm. Many felt that he was the only safeguard against a return of the political struggles of the Revolution. His admirers saw in the public feeling an opportunity to make him emperor. This was done in May, 1804, by what was called a "consultation of the senate," confirmed by a national vote called a *plébiscite*. He now

became the Emperor Napoleon. To furnish him a court, titles of nobility were reëstablished and many new officials were named to attend him. The structure of the government was little changed, for it had been essentially a monarchy since the beginning of the consulate.

SUMMARY

I. Victory of France made Secure.—1. Campaign of 1796: (*a*) war spirit in the army; (*b*) Napoleon Bonaparte; (*c*) situation in Italy; (*d*) reasons for Bonaparte's success; (*e*) his Italian policy. 2. Conflict with England: (*a*) sea power after 1795; (*b*) failure of the Egyptian expedition; (*c*) distress in England; (*d*) greater distresses of France.

II. Overthrow of French Constitution.—1. Political parties. 2. The army as an arbiter. 3. Use made by General Bonaparte of the opportunity.

III. The Consulate.—1. Structure of government: (*a*) powers of first consul; (*b*) how laws were made; (*c*) power granted to the consul over local government. 2. Changes effected by Bonaparte: (*a*) Concordat, its aim and its settlement of the relations of Church and State; (*b*) the Code in relation to the legislative work of the Revolution. 3. Foreign policy: (*a*) result of Marengo campaign; (*b*) "secularization" in Germany; (*c*) attempt of Bonaparte to rëestablish colonial system.

IV. Beginnings of Empire.—1. Consulate for life. 2. Means by which the imperial title was conferred upon Bonaparte as Napoleon I.

IMPORTANT DATES

1796. Bonaparte's Italian campaign.
1797, October. Peace of Campo Formio.
1799, November 9 (18 Brumaire). Overthrow of the Directory.
1802. The Concordat proclaimed. Peace of Amiens.
1803. Sale of Louisiana. "Secularizations" in Germany. War with England.
1804. Bonaparte becomes the Emperor Napoleon I.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading, in addition to books mentioned in **Chs. 21 and 22**: biographies by Fournier, Seeley, and Johnston.

PARAGRAPHS :

363, 364. Italy and Bonaparte: Italy in 1796, Stephens, *Rev. Europe*, 22–27 ; Fyffe, 75–80 ; Bonaparte's policy, Campo Formio, treaty, Anderson, No. 55, and *Tr. and Rp.*, Vol. II., No. 2, pp. 4–7.

365. War against England: Egypt, Fournier or Rose; Colby, No. 107 ; India, Hunter ; for Nelson, Mahan.

366. Condition of England: Bright, III., 1181–1184, 1188–1196.

367. Bankruptcy in France: *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, VIII., 703–708.

368, 369. French Politics, 1795–1799 : Rose, *Revolutionary Era*, Ch. 6 ; long accounts of Brumaire, Rose, *Napoleon ;* Lanfrey, *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, VIII., Ch. 22 ; Brumaire and decree, Anderson, No. 57.

370. The New Constitution: Fournier, 179–187, 221–236.

371. Concordat: Rose, I., 249–262 ; Anderson, 64 ; see also paragraph **195.**

372. The Code: Fournier, 230–232 ; compare paragraph **32.**

373. Lunéville and Amiens: Fyffe, 150–153, 159–164 ; or Rose, *Rev. Era*, 124–132 ; Anderson, Nos. 62, 63 ; *Tr. and Rp.*, II., No. 2, pp. 8–13 (Lunéville).

374. Reorganization of Germany: see especially Henderson, II., 246–247 ; Fyffe, 166–173 ; for origin of these ecclesiastical states, see paragraph **70.**

375. Colonial Schemes: especially Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, Vol. I., Chs. 15–17, Vol. II., Chs. 1–2.

376. The Empire: how it was created, Fournier, 270–282.

Additional Reading: biographies of Napoleon, by Rose, 2 vols., Lanfrey, 5 vols., and Sloane, 4 vols. ; Taine's *Modern Régime ;* Seeley's *Stein*, 3 vols. ; Mahan's *Nelson*, 12 vols. ; Memoirs of Metternich, of Bourrienne, Madame de Rémusat, Pasquier, Méneval, Châteaubriand.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CONQUEST OF EUROPE

377. The Napoleonic Period. — Until peace was made in 1801 and 1802, France was fighting to carry out the ambitious plans which her Revolutionary leaders had formed for the acquirement of "natural frontiers." The use which Bonaparte made of the peace brought on another series of wars. He constantly declared that his aim was to secure a reasonable peace, but his acts roused monarchs and nations to resistance. A new patriotism was awakened in Spain and in Germany. Before the struggle was ended Napoleon's empire was destroyed and the frontiers of France were reduced to what they had been before the Revolution.

378. War with England, 1803. — England was the first to begin war with France. The Peace of Amiens threatened to ruin her more quickly than the terrible burdens of the war it brought to an end, for she found all the ports of Europe which the French controlled practically closed to her ships. Napoleon would make no treaty of commerce. His troops still occupied Holland, and they entered Switzerland to change the constitution of the republic. Piedmont was annexed to France, and Napoleon had himself elected president of the Cisalpine, renamed the Italian republic. War began in 1803, and for two years England fought single-handed. Napoleon gathered a great army on the borders of the Channel and alarmed the English by his preparations to invade England, although it is doubtful whether he seriously intended to risk an adventure so similar to his Egyptian expedition.

379. General War, 1805. — Napoleon's aggressions in Italy continued after he became emperor. He took the crown of the

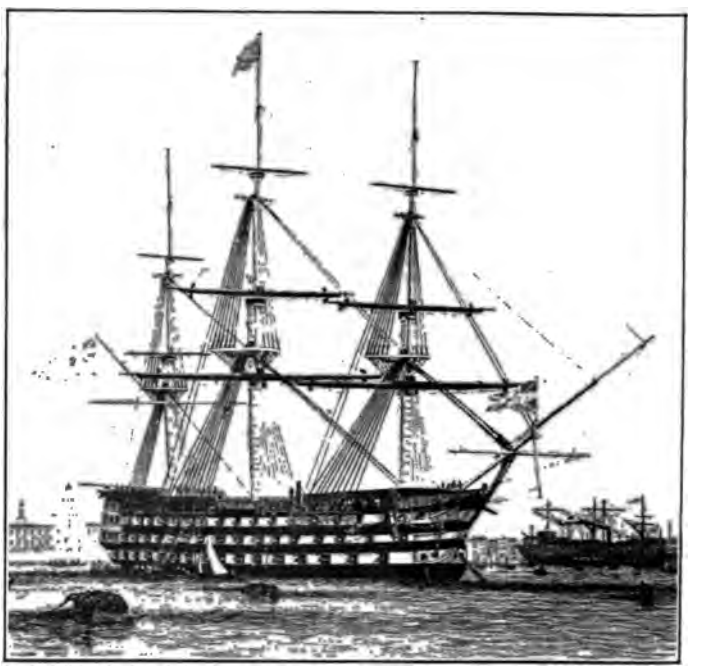
new kingdom which was formed out of the Italian republic and annexed Genoa to France. These acts angered and alarmed both the Emperor Francis and the Tsar Alexander. Francis would have acted more quickly had he not been anxious first to assume the title "Emperor of Austria." Up to 1804 he had been emperor of the Holy Roman or German Empire as well as king of Hungary and Bohemia, but the successes of the French had seriously shaken the Empire and Francis feared it would disappear and leave him simply a king. His new title was recognized in 1804, and the year following he joined the third coalition or alliance against France. Napoleon promptly abandoned all pretence of invading England and marched his disciplined troops across northern France and southern Germany to attack the Austrians before the Russians could come to their assistance. He surrounded one Austrian army at Ulm and forced it to surrender, October 20, 1805. This opened the road to Vienna. Napoleon's triumph was rudely marred by an event that happened the next day hundreds of miles away, off Cape Trafalgar in southern Spain. Admiral Villeneuve, with the French and Spanish fleet, attempted to gain the Mediterranean from Cadiz, but was caught by an English fleet under Lord Nelson and overwhelmed. So complete was the victory that for at least two generations



LORD NELSON.

Horatio Nelson, born, 1758; died on board the *Victory* at the battle of Trafalgar, October 21, 1805.

England's control of the sea was unquestioned. However far Napoleon might carry his conquests on land he must pause at the ocean. He marched on to Vienna and northward into Moravia, where the combined Austrian and Russian armies



H. M. S. *Victory*.

Nelson's flagship at the battle of Trafalgar. It was long moored at Portsmouth and used as a training ship.

awaited him. As some of his troops had crossed Prussian neutral territory on the way to capture the Austrians at Ulm, and as Prussia was alarmed at the growth of French power, the Prussian king promised Francis and Alexander to mediate between them and Napoleon. If Napoleon did not accept the terms offered, the king agreed to join the allies with all his

troops. On December 2, before the Prussians had time to interfere, Napoleon gained a brilliant victory at Austerlitz over both armies and forced the Emperor Francis to make peace at Pressburg.

380. Prussia Crushed. — Napoleon knew enough about the Prussian plan to make him burn for vengeance, but for a time he contented himself with forcing the king to sign a treaty of alliance and to accept the electorate of Hanover, which belonged to George III. of England, with whom Prussia was not at war. In this way Prussia was forced to help France against England. A little later Napoleon thought he saw a chance to make peace with England, and he did not hesitate to offer to restore Hanover, although Prussia had occupied it. Such contemptuous treatment was too much for the Prussians. Unfortunately their army was not what it had been in the time of Frederick the Great. Its leaders were old and incompetent, and it was utterly overthrown at Jena and Auerstädt, October 14, 1806. The stubborn valor of Prussia's Russian allies prolonged the war until July, 1807. After Napoleon's victory at Friedland, treaties of peace were concluded at Tilsit.

381. Results of War. — The defeat of Austria had added Venice to the new kingdom of Italy. Since the Neapolitan king had declared for the Austrians at the opening of the war, he was deposed and Napoleon's brother Joseph placed on the throne. This meant that French institutions would take the place of the mediæval social order that lingered in southern Italy. The greatest change came in Germany, where the Holy Roman Empire was formally dissolved. Many petty princes and barons who had been practically independent were subjected to the larger states within or near whose borders they lived. This was called "mediatization," because the powers which they had held "immediately" of the emperor they now held "mediately," through their particular rulers. It furthered the work of unification begun in 1803. Bavaria and Würtemberg, and a little later Saxony, were made kingdoms,

and Baden was made a grand duchy, as they remain to-day. These with other southern states were united in a Confederation of the Rhine, of which Napoleon was Protector. Holland, which had been under French control since 1795, was made a kingdom and Napoleon's younger brother Louis was proclaimed king. The Peace of Tilsit led to no such permanent consequences, except that it enabled the Tsar Alexander to seize Finland, which belonged to Sweden. Prussia was despoiled of her lands west of the Elbe in order that Napoleon might make a kingdom of Westphalia for his brother Jerome, and of her Polish provinces that he might construct a grand duchy of Warsaw for the king of Saxony.

382. The Continental Blockade. — In such a struggle it was natural that commerce should pass more and more into the hands of those peoples which were at peace with both England and France. The only important trading country that was able for a time to keep out of the conflict was the United States. The English watched with jealous anxiety the growth of American trade with Europe, particularly in the colonial products of the French, because this meant the employment of fewer English ships. It also meant that the government would have difficulty in raising taxes for the war or in finding experienced seamen for the navy. There was danger that the neutral shipmasters would pay such good wages that sailors would desert from English merchant vessels and even from war vessels. Consequently, in 1805, the English government began to confiscate American vessels which traded, even indirectly, between England's enemies and their colonies. Her war-ships also began to search American vessels for English seamen. When Fox, an old friend of America, became minister, after the death of William Pitt, he tried to be more conciliatory by declaring that neutrals must not enter the ports from the Seine River to Ostend, nor those from Brest to the Elbe, if they hailed from a port hostile to England. Napoleon retaliated by declaring the British Isles in a state of blockade, forbidding all trade with them or the ownership of any British



goods. This order, or decree, dated at Berlin in November, 1806, after the battle of Jena, was not carried out for several months, but the English replied by further hindering neutral trade with the Continent. After the Peace of Tilsit, Napoleon enforced his decree, while the English at the same time insisted on their right to search vessels for seamen. When President Jefferson heard of these measures, he recommended to Congress the adoption of an embargo, which would prevent all American vessels from leaving port and would cause the confiscation of any English or French vessels attempting to enter American ports. Congress decided to do this, and the measure remained the law until March, 1809, when an act forbidding trade with England and France was substituted for it. Meantime the English had struck another blow at neutrals by turning against Napoleon his own weapon of a "paper" blockade, making all vessels liable to seizure if they traded with any European port hostile to England. It was provided in the same orders that if such vessels stopped on their way at an English port and paid for a license, they could trade with Europe. Napoleon immediately declared that any neutral vessel which complied with such rules was an English vessel in disguise and would be confiscated. Thus the neutral was ground to pieces between the upper and nether millstone.

383. The Fate of Denmark and Portugal. — The Americans were not the only neutrals who suffered, and their loss was at first mainly that of an opportunity to make money which would not have been theirs had the great wars not broken out. It was a part of the secret agreements at Tilsit that unless England should make peace the states in Europe not at war with her must be forced to declare war. This was aimed especially at Denmark and Portugal. The English, suspecting such an agreement, resolved to defeat the scheme and sent a large fleet to Copenhagen in August, 1807, to demand that Denmark conclude a defensive alliance, intrusting her fleet to England to be kept as a "sacred pledge." When the Danes refused, Copenhagen was bombarded and forced to surrender and the

fleet was seized. Although Napoleon professed to be shocked at such an outrage, he was already preparing to send an army overland into Portugal for a similar purpose. Before this army could reach Lisbon, the Portuguese royal family decided to take refuge in Brazil, their colony beyond the Atlantic, and thither they sailed, convoyed by a British fleet.

384. The Fate of Spain.—Napoleon's Spanish allies believed they were to share the spoils of Portugal. Instead, they were to become victims of the same unscrupulous will to master every region where French interests were seemingly at stake. In the spring of 1808, browbeaten by Napoleon, whose troops already occupied Madrid, the Spanish king Charles and his son Ferdinand surrendered their claims to the throne into his hands and accepted a pension. Napoleon transferred his brother Joseph from the throne of Naples to the Spanish throne. Immediately the whole country rose in revolt. The English government sent an army to Spain under Sir Arthur Wellesley, later the duke of Wellington. Two French armies were obliged to surrender, and King Joseph was forced to fly from Madrid. While Napoleon was attempting to control Spain, he also despoiled the pope of his states and annexed them to the French empire. This act filled the Spaniards with the feeling that they had entered upon a new crusade.

385. Another Austrian War.—The stubbornness of Spanish resistance tempted the Austrians, in April, 1809, to try to recover in a new war what they had lost at Austerlitz. For a time after the battle of Aspern, in May, Napoleon's army was in danger of ruin under the very walls of Vienna, but the dearly bought victory of Wagram in July compelled Austria to make peace once more. Napoleon thought he could turn the peace into a family alliance by marrying Marie Louise, the daughter of the Emperor Francis. It was at this time that his marriage with Josephine was annulled.

386. The Spanish War.—Meantime the Spanish War dragged on. Neither Napoleon's victories nor those of his marshals could subdue the country. Probably one of Napoleon's mo-



tives in seizing Portugal and Spain had been to strengthen his Continental System against England, but the result worked altogether the other way. Spain, from being an enemy to England, became an ally, open to English commerce wherever not controlled by French troops. Moreover, her vast colonial empire in the new world was thrown open to trade, so that England's overloaded markets found immediate relief, and her exports rapidly increased. Incidentally, these colonies became the scene of troubles between the Spanish officers, who still wished everything managed from Spain, and the colonists, who wished to have some part in the resistance to Napoleon. The result was the growth of a spirit of independence.

387. Reform in Prussia. — In Prussia the years immediately following the humiliating Peace of Tilsit were used in reorganizing the kingdom. Frederick William III. had been anxious, from the beginning of his reign, to resume the task of freeing the serfs, which was begun in the eighteenth century, but abandoned by his father. The serfs on the royal domains had been freed, and it was arranged that they should become the proprietors of the lands on which they dwelt if they agreed to pay a certain sum of money in place of the services they had been accustomed to render. This important reform had gone forward slowly; more rapidly in the old Marks and in Pomerania than in the Prussian provinces and in Silesia. The nobles had steadily resisted any effort to do the same with the serfs on their domains. In 1807 the ills of the land were so great that sharp medicine was needed, if the whole people were to gain strength and unity enough to assert their independence against the conqueror. Accordingly Frederick William, under the advice of Baron Stein, issued an edict, October 9, declaring all the peasants free, and breaking down the rigid system of classes, which prevented the healthy growth of the nation. Henceforth a citizen might become a peasant, or a peasant a citizen. Land could be freely bought and sold, and even the peasant could acquire "noble" land, as well as the noble acquire "peasant" land. The edict went too

far to suit the nobles, but not far enough to suit the reformers. The services which the peasants had been obliged to render on the estates of the nobles were not abolished, nor did the tenants of farms become the owners. Four years later another statesman, Hardenberg, provided that peasants could surrender to their lord a portion of their land in place of the services due, and could in this way become real owners of their farms. Although the nobles in many regions resisted the change, it gradually built up a class of prosperous small farmers within the Prussian kingdom. The same statesman also gave more power of self-government to the towns and reconstructed the central government, so that Prussians look back to this time as one in which out of their deep humiliation they arose to new life and vigor.



BARON VOM STEIN.

Heinrich Friedrich Karl, Baron vom Stein, with residence as Knight of the Empire at Burg Stein. Born, 1757; died, 1831. Entered the Prussian service in 1780. In 1806 his barony was absorbed in Nassau.

388. Napoleon's Influence. — These changes in Prussia were partly due to the spread of French ideas about the rights of men and the way men should be organized in society. Since the triumph of Napoleon over Russia and Prussia in 1807, French laws and French reforms had been introduced into the grand duchy of Warsaw, Prussia's Polish neighbor, and into those Prussian lands that had been taken away to form the kingdom of Westphalia. Other German states, particularly those in south Germany, belonging to the Confederation of

the Rhine, had begun to abolish serfdom and organize a better administration. The French empire exerted a great influence because it was so strong, and because by 1810 it extended from the Baltic to the frontier of Naples. The kingdom of Holland had been absorbed, as well as several principalities and important cities north of Holland. In the far south the lands of the pope had been annexed, or given to the kingdom of Italy. Many of the changes made under French influence were so advantageous that they outlived the empire itself. Even the French code of laws was retained with slight modifications in countries like Holland, Belgium, and Naples. Such were the benefits of Napoleon's work and of the French success, but his tyrannical conduct toward weaker states made his memory hateful. He treated his allies with brutal contempt if they ventured to differ with him. When the king of Bavaria hesitated to give his daughter in marriage to Napoleon's stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais, Napoleon threatened to send a body of grenadiers and take her by force. He regarded resistance to his schemes as stupid folly.

389. English Industry and Agriculture. — It seems strange that England was able to endure the burden of the long struggle with Napoleon, which hindered her trade and made taxes so crushing. When the Peace of Amiens was made, the English debt was nearly three billion dollars. The interest on the debt and the increasing expenses caused the income tax to be ten per cent. of all incomes over one thousand dollars. When the new series of wars broke out, England was expected to contribute money to the allies since she could not put her share of men in the field. The task would have been too great but for the new riches she had begun to draw from agriculture and industry. The new machinery enabled the English spinners and weavers to make thread and cloth at a cost one-half or one-third of what it had been. The English merchants could afford to pay the expense of smuggling the articles into Europe and sell at a price lower than that at which the same goods could be produced on the Continent.

390. The War of 1812. — In 1812, when England needed all her resources for a final struggle with Napoleon, she was weakened by a war with the United States. This grew out of her attacks upon neutral trade, although before it began England had withdrawn the offensive orders. The war brought little glory to either country. The English, in 1812 and 1813, were mainly occupied by the Spanish campaign and could not send to America large bodies of troops. Their navy held undisputed possession of the seas, though American frigates, like the *Constitution*, won brilliant victories in single ship actions, and American squadrons gained control of the lakes. Peace was made in 1814, but the news was so late in reaching America that in January, 1815, the British veterans of the Spanish campaign received a bloody repulse before New Orleans.

391. The Russian Campaign. — The friendship between Napoleon and the Tsar Alexander was short-lived. Alexander was indignant that the trade of Russia with England in ship timber, naval supplies, and wheat should be ruined, while Napoleon licensed French merchants to trade directly with the English. The tsar also feared that the grand duchy of Warsaw might grow into a new kingdom of Poland. Alexander offended Napoleon by deciding to admit colonial goods if they were brought in American ships. To Napoleon it seemed as if Alexander were about to withdraw from the struggle against England. The result of these misunderstandings and jealousies was an outbreak of war between Russia and France in 1812. Napoleon had organized an army of nearly four hundred thousand men. He hoped to reach the Russian frontier before the tsar could advance into Prussian territory. This was what the tsar wanted, for he planned to draw the French far from their base of supplies, within the interminable plains of Russia. His plan was successful. Napoleon fought his way to Moscow, only to find himself surrounded by the smoking ruins of that city. He did not begin his retreat early enough, and before he had gone far winter set in. Between constant attacks by the Russians and the bitter cold most of



the "Grand Army" perished. Napoleon left the remnant in the hands of his generals and hastened back to Paris to organize a new army, for he felt that in 1813 many of the states which had hitherto cringed before him would attempt to throw off the hated yoke.

392. The Wars of Liberation. — Prussia's opportunity had come. The king had been forced to send an army under General Yorck to assist Napoleon in the Russian war. This army joined the Russians as soon as the extent of the French losses was known. In February, 1813, the king, who had called the act treason because he did not dare defy Napoleon, made a treaty with the tsar. By extraordinary efforts Napoleon got together an army and won two or three victories, but in the days of his supremacy he had too deeply wronged his enemies not to find them all gathering for his ruin, now that he was no longer omnipotent. The Austrians declared that the time had come to undo the work of 1809 and 1810; that they must have back some of their lost possessions, and that Napoleon must give up the lands he had annexed on the Baltic and restore to Prussia the parts of Poland he had taken away. Napoleon would not make peace on these or any other reasonable terms, and so the Austrians joined the allies. In Spain, Wellington was steadily fighting his way northward toward the French frontier. In spite of overwhelming odds, Napoleon gained one more victory at Dresden in August, but a little later suffered defeat at Leipsic. Even then he would not reconcile himself to restoring the territory that the allies insisted upon. In 1814 the campaign began within the borders of France. New victories filled Napoleon with the assurance that all might yet be saved, nor did he understand the state of affairs until his own generals compelled him, April 6, to abdicate. The allies allowed him to retain the title of emperor, and to take as his domain the little island of Elba, near the Italian coast.

393. Obstacles to Peace. — The task of the allies was not completed when Napoleon was overthrown. Europe had been

torn with war for over twenty years. Each successive peace had redrawn the map of Europe. Old rights had been swept away and new interests had been created. It was probable that these questions would find the different governments at odds with one another and that a settled peace would be impossible. A congress of ministers and princes was assembled at Vienna in the fall of 1814 to decide what should be done with the ruins of both the old and the new Europe. Serious disputes arose because Russia was determined to annex nearly all the grand duchy of Warsaw, while Prussia wished Saxony, whose ruler had been Napoleon's most constant ally. England and Austria, supported by France, were ready to go to war rather than permit such a scheme to be carried out. Peace was also endangered by France, which had once more fallen under the rule of the Bourbons. Louis XVIII., the brother of Louis XVI., mounted the throne, dating his acts from the nineteenth year of his reign, as if nothing had happened in France since the little dauphin, Louis XVII., the son of Louis XVI., had died in his Paris prison. The nobles who were living in exile returned, expecting that their desire for vengeance upon their Revolutionary foes would now be satisfied and that all the offices and rewards would be theirs. The old officers of the Napoleonic armies watched this spectacle in a disgust and anger which boded ill to the new reign.

394. The Waterloo Campaign. — In March, 1815, before the Congress of Vienna was ended, news came that Napoleon had escaped from Elba, that he was marching through France, hailed by the very soldiers sent out to arrest him, and, a little later, that he was in Paris, and that the Bourbons had fled. It seemed as if the struggle of 1813 and 1814 was to begin again. Napoleon reëstablished the empire and assembled an army in some respects better than the army of 1814, for peace had released many soldiers, veterans of the earlier campaigns, who had been imprisoned in Prussia and Russia. The campaign was brief. Napoleon marched northward toward

Brussels to defeat the English army under Wellington and the Prussians under Blücher, before the Russians or the Austrians could begin the campaign. At first he was successful. The Prussians were defeated at Ligny, June 16. On the same day, Wellington had checked Marshal Ney at Quatres Bras, five miles away. Napoleon had an opportunity to crush Wellington the next morning, but he no longer moved as rapidly as in his early wars. Wellington retired to the fields in front of Waterloo. Here, June 18, a great battle was fought. Part of the French army had taken the wrong road in pursuing Blücher and never reached the battle-field. Wellington stubbornly defended his ground against all attacks. As the struggle increased in fury, the Prussians appeared on the field. Napoleon was forced to use troops of his reserve against them, and this hindered his attacks on the English. Finally his Old Guard failed in an assault on the English position, other Prussian regiments appeared, and the terrible cry was heard, "Save, who can." The defeat was so overwhelming that the French army disbanded. Napoleon returned to Paris and again abdicated. Failing in an attempt to escape to America, he went on board an English war vessel, insisting that the English government should permit him to reside quietly in England. But the government, acting in agreement with the

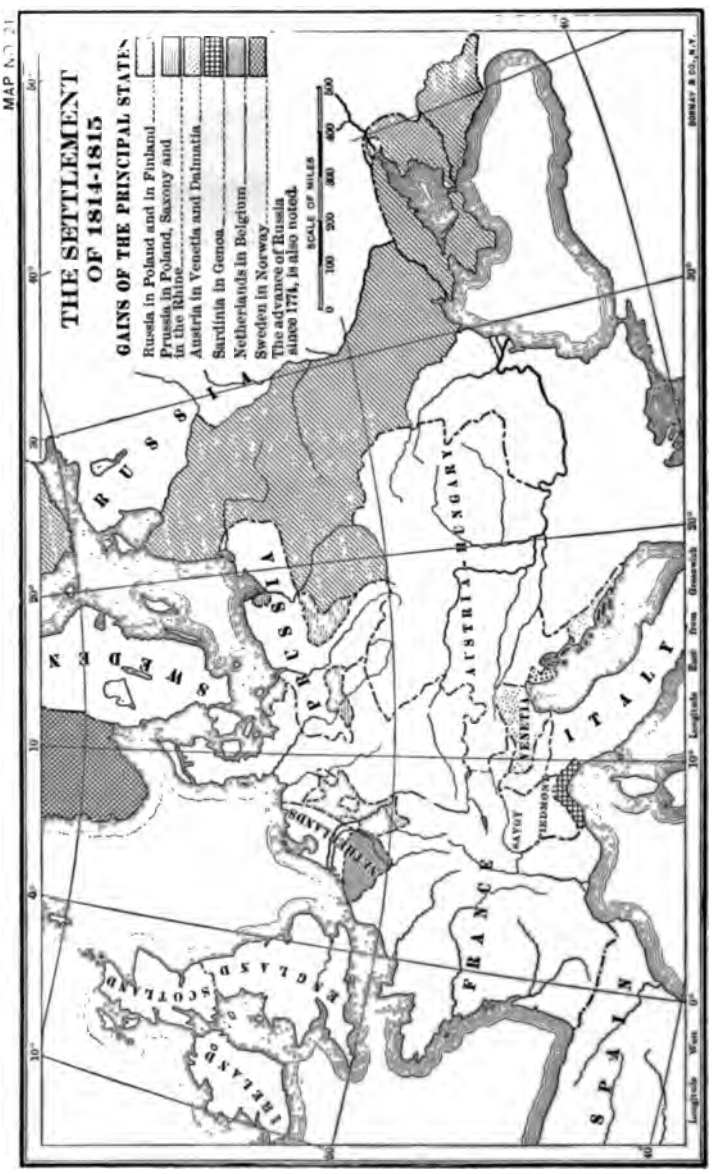


DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

Arthur Wellesley, born, 1769; died, 1852. Knighted in 1805 for service in India. Commander of the British forces in the Peninsula (Spain and Portugal) in 1808. In 1812 his successes earned him the title of Marquis of Wellington. He became Duke of Wellington two years later. Prime Minister of England, 1828–1830.

allies, sent him to the island of St. Helena, where he was carefully guarded until his death, six years later.

395. The Terms of Peace, 1815. — By the agreements made at Vienna, and at Paris after the Waterloo campaign, the old map of Europe was partially restored, but there were several changes of importance. France was left with little more than the frontiers she had before the Revolution. In Italy Venice went to Austria and Genoa to the kingdom of Sardinia. The German states remained as they were in 1806, except that Saxony was forced to give up half its territory to Prussia. Prussia also gained lands on the left bank of the Rhine, which had been in French hands since 1795. To Holland, henceforward called the kingdom of the Netherlands, were given the lands which before the victories of France had been the Austrian Netherlands, and which now are included in Belgium. Nearly all the grand duchy of Warsaw went to the Tsar Alexander, who promised to rule it separately from Russia and as a constitutional monarchy. Russia retained Finland, and Sweden was compensated by the acquisition of Norway which belonged to Denmark. This decision meant that a great Slav power was thrust farther west in Europe than ever before. The gains of Prussia, replacing her losses of Polish territory, were more valuable to her, because they contained a pure German population and made Prussia a better representative of German interests than Austria could be. There was no attempt to restore the Holy Roman Empire, but the German states were grouped in a confederation under the honorary presidency of Austria. Although the tide of French conquest had receded, leaving the boundaries of Europe much as they had been in 1792, the better organization of society which the French had introduced did not everywhere disappear, but remained as a permanent result of their work.


THE SETTLEMENT
OF 1814-1815
GAINS OF THE PRINCIPAL STATES
Russia in Poland and in Finland
Prussia in Poland, Saxony and in the Rhine
Austria in Venetia and Dalmatia
Sardinia in Genoa
Netherlands in Belgium
Sweden in Norway
The advance of Russia since 1772, is also noted.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
RUSSIA
SWEDEN
PRUSSIA
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
FRANCE
ITALY
SPAIN
SWITZERLAND
SAVOY
PIEDMONT
VENETIA
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND

SUMMARY

I. NAPOLEON'S MASTERY ESTABLISHED. — 1. His aggressive policy: (*a*) annexations make peace with England impossible; (*b*) reasons why Austria was not ready for war in 1803; (*c*) reasons for the vacillation of Prussia. 2. Results: (*a*) victories of Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland; (*b*) treatment of Naples and Prussia; (*c*) dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire; (*d*) petty states disappear; (*e*) states which benefited. 3. Attempt to coerce England: (*a*) danger to English trade from neutrals; (*b*) origin of Berlin decree, orders in council, Milan decree; (*c*) effect on neutrals, especially Americans; (*d*) treatment of Denmark and Portugal; (*e*) seizure of Spain and effect upon Spanish colonies and English trade; (*f*) England's sources of strength. 4. Prussia seeks strength in reform: (*a*) previous efforts to abolish serfdom; (*b*) abolition of caste system; (*c*) feudal dues. 5. Benefits and evils of Napoleonic rule: (*a*) reorganization of society and introduction of better system of law; (*b*) tyranny over the weak.

II. OVERTHROW OF NAPOLEON. — 1. Russian campaign: (*a*) reasons for the war; (*b*) ruin of the "Grand Army." 2. Wars of liberation: (*a*) Yorck's conduct; (*b*) policy of the Austrians; (*c*) advance of Wellington; (*d*) reason for Napoleon's abdication. 3. Obstacles to peace: (*a*) struggle for territory; (*b*) discontent in France. 4. Napoleon's final attempt: (*a*) his escape from Elba and reception in France; (*b*) causes of his defeat at Waterloo; (*c*) his exile. 5. Terms of peace: (*a*) frontiers of France; (*b*) gains of Prussia; (*c*) settlement in Germany; (*d*) case of Poland.

IMPORTANT DATES

1805, October 21. Battle of Trafalgar.
1805, December 2. Battle of Austerlitz.
1806, October. Battles of Jena and Auerstädt (connect Berlin decree).
1807, July. Peace of Tilsit.
1807, October. Prussian reform decree.
1808. Seizure of Spain.
1812. Russian campaign.
1814, April. First abdication of Napoleon.
1815, June 18. Battle of Waterloo.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: see Chs. 21–23.

PARAGRAPHS:

378. Causes of the New War: different points of view, Fournier, 251 ff.; Lanfrey, II., Ch. 7; Rose, *Napoleon*, I., Ch. 17; invasion of England, Rose, Essays, Appendix.

379. Trafalgar: Mahan, *Nelson*, II., Ch. 23; Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group 30; Austerlitz campaign, Fyffe, 192–200; Colby, No. 109.

380. Prussia Crushed: Henderson, II., 270–295; Seeley, *Stein*, I., 240–264.

381. Naples: Anderson, No. 75, A and B, Confederation of the Rhine; Abdication of Francis, Anderson, No. 78, A and D; *Tr. and Rp.*, Vol. II., No. 2, pp. 14–17; Colby, No. 110. For review on origin and history of the Holy Roman Empire, see paragraphs **109, 155, 156, 248, 250, 323.**

382. Continental Blockade: decrees, Anderson, No. 77, A–G; *Tr. and Rp., ibid.*, 17–26; for explanation see especially Rose, *Napoleonic Era*, 171–172, 176–177, 184, 206, 213–218; Mahan, *Sea Power*, II., Ch. 18.

383. Copenhagen Affair: especially Fournier, 414–416; English view, Rose, *Napoleon*, II., 128–141; or Fyffe, 236–240.

384. Spain: Anderson, No. 81; explanations in Fournier or Rose.

386. Economic Consequences of Spanish War: Rose, *Rev. Era*, 214 ff.

387. Reform in Prussia: edict, *Tr. and Rp., ibid.*, 27–30; see Henderson, *Germany*, II., Ch. 7; Seeley, I., 430–458.

388. Annexation of Papal States: Anderson, No. 84, A and B; Jervis, Ch. 12 ff.

389. See **325, 326**, and references.

390. Compare **382.**

392. Wars of Liberation: Henderson, II., 295–316; Colby, No. 111.

393. First Restoration: Fyffe, 375–380; Pasquier, II., Chs. 17 ff.

394. Waterloo Campaign: especially Rose, II., Ch. 40; Colby, No. 112; Henderson, *Side Lights*, Group 31.

395. Terms of Peace: treaty of Paris of 1814, Anderson, No. 91; see Rose, 324–335; Fyffe, 357–364; Seeley, III., 231–349; Metternich, *Memoirs*, I., 683–715.

Additional Reading: Fisher, *Napoleonic Policy in Germany;* Johnston, *Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy*, 2 vols.

Review, Chs. 21–24; period, 1789–1815: the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era.

Special Reviews:

I. Geographical Changes. — 1. Germany: (*a*) Prussia gains part of Saxony and territories on the Rhine; (*b*) disappearance from German map of many small states, including ecclesiastical principalities; (*c*) Holy Roman Empire dissolved. 2. Russia gains (*a*) most of Poland, and (*b*) Finland. 3. Sweden gains Norway in exchange for Finland. 4. Venice annexed by Austria. 5. Genoa annexed by Sardinia. 6. England gains several French and Dutch colonies, including Ceylon and the Cape.

II. France as a Leader in Revolutionary Change. — 1. Abolition of feudal system: (*a*) decrees of August 4; (*b*) policy adopted in December, 1792, for territory occupied by French armies; (*c*) result of annexations to France; (*d*) changes effected in kingdoms ruled by Napoleon's brothers. 2. Legal reforms: (*a*) those made in France; (*b*) embodied in the Code; (*c*) adoption of Code in other countries. 3. Changes in the Church: (*a*) confiscation of Church property in France; (*b*) secularization of Church states in Germany; (*c*) separation of Church and State in France, 1794–1802; (*d*) the Concordat. 4. Reorganization of states: (*a*) aspirations after unity aroused in Italy; (*b*) changes in Germany by "secularization" and "mediatization"; (*c*) German states made kingdoms; (*d*) Holland a kingdom; (*e*) partial restoration of Poland.

III. Revolutionary France in the Rôle of Louis XIV. — 1. Original attitude of revolutionary France toward conquest. 2. France forcibly carries republican institutions among her neighbors. 3. Ambition to attain "natural" frontiers, which incidentally renders necessary controlling influence in Italy and in Germany. 4. Antagonism to England leads France to attempt to control the policy of Europe by Continental system. 5. Result: all Europe united against France, as in 1702, and France is overwhelmed by 1814 and 1815, as in 1713 and 1714.

IV. Events Touching American History. — 1. Impression made by the Revolution on America. 2. Effect of war upon American commerce: (*a*) after 1793; (*b*) after 1805; (*c*) the Continental system; (*d*) American methods of retaliation; (*e*) the War of 1812.

V. Leading Men of the Period: Mirabeau, Lafayette, Danton, Robespierre, Napoleon; Pitt, Nelson, Wellington; Stein; Alexander I.; Pius VII.

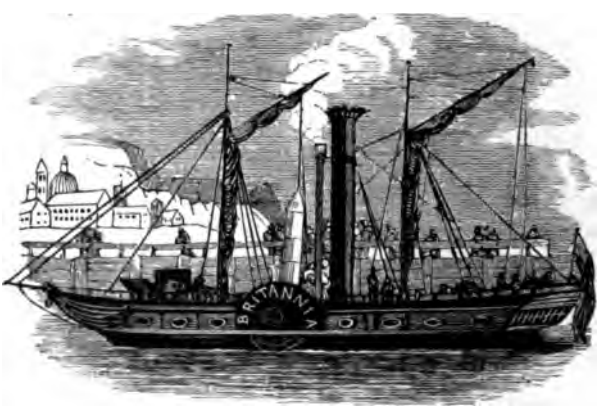
CHAPTER XXV.

REORGANIZED EUROPE

396. The Uses of Peace. — The wars, which had continued with scarcely a pause from 1792 to 1815, were followed by a longer period of peace than western Europe had ever known. From 1815 until 1848 there were only "military promenades," like the French invasion of Spain in 1823, or bloody insurrections, like those of the Parisians and of the Poles in 1830. Such a long period of quiet was needed for the reorganization of the industrial and commercial life of Europe. The industrial inventions which the English had long been using were almost unknown on the Continent. The effect of this reorganization upon the way people lived and worked was as important as the effect of the French Revolution upon their social rights and their political aims.

397. English Industry and Trade. — At the close of the war England was staggering under a debt of over £800,000,000; her workmen were reduced almost to beggary, and her system of taxation enriched the landowners rather than the public treasury. Her laws forbade employees to unite to obtain higher wages. Ancient statutes still kept from office Protestant dissenters and Catholics. Catholics were not even allowed to vote. Some of the great manufacturing towns had no representatives in Parliament, while boroughs which had lost nearly all their inhabitants and were owned by landlords could send one or two members. Many of these injustices would have been removed earlier had the English not been frightened by the course of the French Revolution. As soon

as the war ceased the struggle for reform began. In industry and trade England had an advantage over her rivals because through the war she had crippled their commerce and because by 1815 she had partially developed the factory system, while they generally used the old domestic system of manufacture. The English increased this advantage by introducing railways and steamships earlier than did other countries. With the growth of the manufacturing towns came a demand for the reduction of taxes on imported grain in order that bread might



AN EARLY ENGLISH STEAMBOAT.

The earliest British passenger steamer was the *Comet*, launched on the Clyde in 1812, five years after the *Clermont* was launched at New York.

be cheaper. Clear-sighted men saw that the old Navigation laws, adopted in the struggle with the Dutch nearly two centuries before, must be changed and the high tariffs reduced in order that trade might be freer. Since what was done brought new prosperity, further steps were ventured upon. Parliament modified the laws which made strikes a crime and increased the regulations for the protection of men, women, and children compelled to work long hours in unhealthy mills or in coal mines. In 1828 and 1829 the laws disqualifying dissenters and Catholics were repealed. There was no change

in the system of representation in Parliament until another wave of revolution had swept over Europe.

398. Reorganization of German Trade. — So long as the war lasted French and German manufacturers had been protected from English competition by the Continental blockade. Peace threatened to bring disaster to those industries which had grown up under this shelter, unless English goods were barred out by a system of tariffs. The danger led to the formation of protectionist parties. In Prussia the trouble was



PUFFING BILLY.

The first British railway locomotive was constructed in 1804; the first American locomotive in 1830.

increased by the fact that the old provincial tariffs levied on goods passing from one province to another still existed. As Prussia was divided into provinces so Germany was divided into states, — Prussia, Saxony, Baden, Würtemberg, Bavaria, Hanover, Austria, and many smaller principalities. Although bound together politically in a confederation, the industrial life of each state was entirely independent. Prussia took the lead in uniting Germany commercially, as years later she succeeded in forming a stronger political union. The first step was to enact a uniform but low tariff for all her scattered provinces. This step compelled several small principalities

which were surrounded by Prussian lands to make a customs union or *Zollverein* with Prussia, in 1819 and the years following, according to which there was to be but one tariff frontier for the group, and the smaller states were to have their share of the receipts. At first the larger states attempted to organize rival groups, but by 1837 Saxony, Bavaria, and other states had joined the *Zollverein*, which then included a German population of twenty-six millions. Hanover, with Oldenburg and Brunswick, still maintained an independent organization. The German districts of Austria were not admitted. When a currency unit was introduced, it bore on its face the effigy of the king of Prussia. There was an assembly of delegates from the various states which foreshadowed the coming of a real German parliament. Treaties of commerce were made with foreign countries in the name of the union. Trade throughout the country was rendered easier by the construction of macadamized roads. After 1835 railways were built. The greater ease of communication between different parts of the country broke down the narrow devotion of each citizen to his own state and made him more loyal to Germany.

399. Development of France. — In France it was unnecessary to abolish provincial custom-houses or to work for more unity and a greater national spirit, because the old monarchy had kept the great lords from developing into kings and princes like those in Germany and the Revolution had completed the work of union. The changes in French industry were important chiefly as they enabled the country to make a better use of its resources. From 1815 manufacturers were endeavoring to replace methods of domestic manufacture by the factory system. English machines were imported or others constructed upon similar plans. New industries were introduced. By 1840 it became possible to make the finer qualities of thread which hitherto had been imported from England. Agriculture was transformed by a better system of rotation of crops. In order to reduce the price of sugar, brought almost wholly from the West Indies, the sugar beet was extensively

cultivated. The magnificent system of roads begun during the empire was rapidly developed. These roads were of three kinds, the national, departmental, and neighborhood. Even the neighborhood roads, important for the petty trade from village to village or from farm to farm, were macadamized. Railroads were of slow growth. It was not until after 1842, when the government undertook to share the burden, that long lines were built. As the result of the new factory system the cities grew rapidly. The condition of the working people gradually improved, although the working day was from twelve to fourteen hours long and many women and children were employed. These evils were partially remedied by new laws.

400. The Restoration in France. — While these changes were going on in the industrial life of England and Europe, politicians, revolutionists, and statesmen were busy trying to settle some of the problems left by the men of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period. After Waterloo, when Louis XVIII. returned to France, his chief difficulty arose from the demand of his friends for vengeance upon Napoleon's supporters and for a restoration of the ancient order of things. According to the constitution which the king had granted there were a chamber of peers, selected from the older nobility and from those ennobled by Napoleon for service in the army or in the administration, and a chamber of deputies, elected by about ninety thousand voters, each of whom paid sixty dollars or more in direct taxes. Often the chamber of peers was more liberal than the chamber of deputies. Many of the peers had grown up under the Revolution and still believed in its principles. The deputies rallied about the king's brother, the count of Artois, and joined him in urging that the lands which had been taken from the nobles and the Church should be restored, and that the Church should be organized as it was in the old régime, with an income from its own property and with entire charge of the schools. They even demanded that the king withdraw his promise to allow

religious freedom. They would not have obtained so much influence had not an obscure fanatic, who brooded over the memories of the empire, assassinated the son of the count of Artois, the hope of the Bourbon family. In 1820, when this happened, the king was too feeble to resist the demands of his brother, afterward Charles X., and really ceased to govern, though he lived until 1824.

401. Reaction in Germany. — Other European peoples were no better off than the French; indeed they did not have even the rights the French enjoyed. When the Germans, nobles, citizens, and peasants, had unitedly risen against Napoleon, some of their leaders had promised that the sacrifices of the people should be rewarded by granting them written constitutions, with representative assemblies. As soon as the common danger was past, the old distrust with which the nobles regarded ordinary men revived. Prince Metternich, the chief minister of Austria, which was still the leading state in the German confederation, persuaded the Prussian king not to keep his promises. Before Metternich's eyes rose the spectre of the French Revolution, and he argued that if Frederick William III. began to make concessions to political enthusiasts he would, like Louis XVI., find no place to pause before he had lost his power altogether. As in France, it was a murder which strengthened the enemies of the liberal party. The



PRINCE METTERNICH.
Born, 1773; died, 1859. Chief minister of Austria, 1809–1848.

victim was a literary man named Kotzebue, an agent of the Russian government, who attacked the liberal cause in his newspaper, while the murderer was Sands, a theological student who thought to rid his country of a dangerous traitor. This happened in 1819. Metternich seized the opportunity to convince the ministers of the other governments in Germany that it was time to control the teaching in the universities and to compel the journals to publish nothing which had not been previously approved by a censor. In one matter he failed. He tried to persuade the kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg and the grand duke of Baden to abandon their plan of having parliaments. They were clear-sighted enough to see that only by rallying their people about them could they resist the domineering advice of Austria. Prussia received no constitution, and the schemes of Stein and Hardenberg for the betterment of the condition of the peasants were not fully carried out. However, faithful Prussian officers in the provinces introduced a sound administration and prepared the scattered territories of the kingdom for a time when a sense of common interests would enable the people to demand some share in the government.

402. The "Holy" Alliance. — In 1815 England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria had made an alliance to guard against a new outbreak of revolution in France. At the same time the Tsar Alexander became anxious that his brother rulers should promise to be guided in the government of their peoples and in their dealings with one another by the principles of the Christian religion. This pledge, which they signed to please him, and which even the United States was asked to accept, was called the Holy Alliance. By the year 1818 France no longer caused her neighbors anxiety. Metternich and Alexander concluded that it would be well for the four governments, together with France, to do for Europe what they had been doing for France, that is, to check at the outset any revolutionary movement which by spreading might imperil the peace of Europe. The English ministry was reluctant to join in such a meddlesome policy.

But Metternich gained his point, for, as soon as the revolutions of 1820 in Spain and Naples forced the kings of Spain and of Naples to grant constitutions, he called conferences of the allies to decide how to put down the revolutionists. The alliance had now come to be confused with the Holy Alliance, and this title clung to it. The revolutionists of Naples were obliged to give way before an Austrian army and the old government became more oppressive than before.

403. The Affairs of Spain. — The Spanish affair could not be settled so easily. The French were determined to act alone, while the English were anxious that the Spaniards should be left to settle their difficulties with King Ferdinand. Canning, the English minister, was heartily sick of the pretensions of the "Holy" allies. There was another reason why the English were displeased. When the Spanish colonies had revolted against Napoleon's brother Joseph, the English had begun to trade freely with them, a privilege which did not exist under the old colonial system of Spain. Several colonies submitted to King Ferdinand after he was restored, but as he tried to practice the old tyrannies, the revolt broke out once more, and by 1822 had every prospect of succeeding. In that year the United States recognized the independence of Buenos Ayres, Chili, Peru, Colombia, and Mexico. Since the allies proposed not only to free the Spanish king from his constitution, but also to help him win back his lost colonies, possibly taking a part of them as a reward, England saw that her growing trade was threatened. The United States was also alarmed, especially by Russian advance southward from Alaska along the Pacific coast. Canning suggested that England and the United States join in a declaration opposing the schemes of the allies. The American government felt that it would be wiser to issue a separate declaration. After the French army had restored King Ferdinand to power in 1823, rumors that the allies were completing their plans led Canning to intimate plainly to both France and Spain the disapproval of England. This of itself must have been decisive, because since Trafalgar no combination of European states

could send an expedition across the seas without England's consent. To England's opposition was added President Monroe's declaration, in his annual message to Congress, later called the Monroe Doctrine, that the United States would regard as unfriendly any attack on the independence of the South American states or any attempt to organize anew a system of colonies on the American continent. No more was heard of the scheme of the allies, and soon afterward Spain gave up the contest with her colonies.

404. Revolt of the Greeks. — In April, 1821, after the Austrian troops had overthrown the revolutionary party in Naples and before France attempted to deal with the Spanish revolutionists, an insurrection broke out in Greece. At first Metternich and his friends thought this affair was like the other revolts. It was far different. The Greeks did not rise against a king who refused to grant them a share in the government; they were struggling to free themselves from the hated race of Turks which overspread Greece, carrying the sense of oppression to every hearth. The Turks were taught by their religion that the Christian was an inferior, only fit to pay tribute. Had the Christian population of the Balkan Peninsula been of one race, the task of driving the Turk back toward his Asiatic home would not have been so difficult; but the Slavs in the north distrusted the Greeks, because the Turks had often employed Greeks in the administration of their northern provinces, and these men had not hesitated to despoil the inhabitants for gain. The Slavic Rumanians and Bulgarians could not see that good would come to them by restoring the old Greek empire. This lack of union, then and many times since that day, enabled the Turk to keep fast his hold on Europe. The Greeks, made brutal by long years of oppression, began their revolution by massacring all the Turks, men, women, and children, upon whom they could lay hands. The Turks meted out to the Greeks within their power the same measure of vengeance. Occasionally the gloomy scene of ferocity was lighted up by some deed of Homeric valor or by the heroic self-sacrifice of the Philhellenes, the "lovers

of Hellas," who had come from western Europe to save the cause. The Russian people held the same faith as the Greeks, and therefore their indignation was kindled at the stories of Turkish cruelties, and they could not understand why the Tsar Alexander refused to send his armies to the rescue. Alexander, influenced though he was by Metternich, felt that the time had come to interfere, but before he could do anything he died, leaving the throne to his brother Nicholas. Nicholas had little liking for the Greeks, but he saw that England, under Canning's leadership, was sure to aid them, especially since Ibrahim, the son of the pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, had brought an army over to the Morea and was systematically ravaging it and killing the inhabitants. In 1827 Russia and England reached an agreement which France also accepted. When they undertook to mediate between the sultan and the Greeks, the sultan contemptuously rejected their offer. They therefore used force to stop the career of Ibrahim, and in the bay of Navarino utterly destroyed the Egyptian and Turkish fleet. War speedily broke out between the Russians and the Turks. The result was that Greece became an independent kingdom and that Rumania was left practically independent.

405. A New Revolution in France. — France was again on the verge of revolution. The willingness of Charles X. to subordinate the interests of the State to the Church had disgusted many even of the older nobles. A new chamber of deputies, with a liberal majority, had been chosen in 1827. Charles insisted upon his right to choose his ministers, irrespective of the wishes of the deputies. Among the opponents of the ministry were two men already famous as historians, Guizot, author of a *History of Civilization*, and Thiers, whose popular *History of the French Revolution* had done much to unite the older revolutionists against the government. Another opponent was General Lafayette, who, though a republican in sentiment, was more anxious to secure liberty than to establish any particular form of government. Charles hoped to obtain a chamber of deputies more favorable to his ministers, but a new

election in 1830 only increased the strength of the opposition. Charles and his advisers saw no way out of their difficulties save to change the laws without the consent of the legislature. July 26 he issued several ordinances which dissolved the newly elected chamber of deputies, ordered the election of another, with the qualifications for voting so changed that many merchants and manufacturers lost the ballot, and, to stifle public opinion, declared that each newspaper must obtain a license every three months. After a day or two of uncertainty among the political leaders, the workingmen and students and many of the middle class armed themselves, threw up barricades, and began to fight for the public buildings. The struggle was so fierce that five thousand persons were killed or wounded. From the heights of St. Cloud the king could see the tricolor, the flag of the Revolution and the empire, flying from the Hotel de Ville and Notre Dame. The windows of his palace were jarred by the constant firing. When it was too late he yielded. The duke of Orleans, son of the Philippe Égalité of the Revolution, was brought into Paris and made lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Lafayette reconciled the republicans to the plan of substituting the House of Orleans for the House of Bourbon, and on August 7 Louis Philippe was proclaimed king. Meantime Charles X. was forced to retire to England. The government of the new king was much like that of the old, except that political power belonged to the rich instead of to the clergy and to the nobles.



LAFAYETTE IN LATER LIFE.

After his return from imprisonment Lafayette took no active part in politics for many years. He revisited America in 1824–1825. **See also p. 329.**

406. A Kingdom of Belgium. — The Revolution of 1830 in France incited eager reformers all over Europe to overthrow tyrannical or badly managed governments. The Belgians had never ceased to dislike their union with the Dutch. This union became very unpopular after they discovered that the Dutch wanted to hold nearly all the offices and to have public business carried on in the Dutch language, although the Belgians were to pay half the taxes and half the debt. At first the opposition against the Dutch government was not dangerous, because the Belgians were divided among themselves, one party wishing liberty of worship, liberty of speech, and liberty of the press, while the other argued that it was for the Church to tell the people what to believe, and that such liberties were the cause of almost all the evil in the world. By and by some churchmen who remembered that several times in France the Church had suffered from loss of liberty, began to argue in favor of such rights. The consequence was that the two parties joined in the Union of 1828. The outbreak in Paris stirred the more violent Belgians to an uprising in Brussels. After some fighting the revolutionary leaders declared the Belgian provinces independent, October 4, 1830. A congress was called, a constitution modelled on that of England was adopted, and Leopold of Coburg invited to become king. Although this was opposed by King William of Holland, and disliked by the governments of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, the Belgians were supported by England and France, and William was obliged to yield. Thus was formed the kingdom of Belgium.

407. Poland. — Poland was more unfortunate. The Tsar Alexander had tried to govern the Poles as a separate kingdom in accordance with the constitution he had given them, but he did not succeed, and began to rule like an arbitrary king. After his death, in 1825, the people became uneasy. In November, 1830, Warsaw rose and drove out the Russians. Since none of the other governments either wished or dared to interfere, Poland was again conquered and was thenceforth treated simply as one of the provinces of Russia.

408. Reform of the English Parliament. — The success of the Revolution in France increased the outcry in England for the reform of parliament. The chief obstacle was the House of Lords, which refused to accept the plan adopted by the House of Commons. For a time there was danger of insurrection, but the Lords yielded when the king threatened to raise enough men to the peerage to create a majority in favor of the plan. According to this plan fifty-six boroughs lost their right to send members to parliament, while thirty others could send only one instead of two. The seats so vacated were granted to the counties or to large towns hitherto unrepresented. This reform did not bring about universal suffrage, for there was still a high property qualification for voters, but it weakened the control which wealthy landowners had possessed over the House of Commons and prepared the way for the rise to power of the democracy. One of its first consequences was the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies, each slave owner being paid what was regarded as a fair price for his slaves. A few years later, partly in consequence of the famine in Ireland, the Corn laws, or tariff on the importation of grain, were repealed. By this action the English adopted the policy of free trade.

409. Austria-Hungary. — In Italy there had been uprisings in the States of the Church, but the revolutionists were speedily put down with the aid of Austrian troops. A time would come when Austria would find the part of general policeman more difficult to play. Even the old Emperor Francis realized that the Austrian governmental machine was weak. A spirit was stirring in Hungary and Bohemia, to say nothing of Italy and Germany, which would be fatal to it. The Hungarians demanded that their ancient rights as a separate kingdom should become something more than a memory. Enthusiasts like the young Kossuth wished to separate Hungary from Austria, retaining the same monarch as the sole bond. Hungary had its own difficulties. Political power was in the hands of the great nobles. In the diets or assemblies

the middle classes had no representatives. Many feudal burdens still rested upon the peasants. The organization of the country was worse than that of France before 1789. In certain parts of Hungary there was a large Slavic population of which the real Hungarians or Magyars were jealous, insisting that these peoples must become Magyar if they would enjoy the political importance the Hungarians claimed for themselves. In Bohemia the jealousy between Germans and Czechs was awakened. Austria was little better off. The discontent among liberal men everywhere in Europe showed that politically the years after 1830 were only a breathing time between two revolutions.

SUMMARY

I. Agriculture, Industry, Trade. — 1. England: (*a*) advantages over rivals; (*b*) changes in the laws of trade and labor. 2. Germany, growth of a common tariff system. 3. France: (*a*) introduction of factory system; (*b*) new industries; (*c*) railroad building.

II. Attempts to check Revolution. — 1. Restoration in France: (*a*) attitude of the returned nobles; (*b*) plan of the Artois party. 2. Germany: (*a*) influence of Metternich; (*b*) question of parliaments; (*c*) improvements in administration. 3. Action of the allies: (*a*) object of alliance; (*b*) Holy Alliance; (*c*) policy of allies in Spanish affair; (*d*) origin of Monroe Doctrine; (*e*) independence of Spanish America.

III. New Revolutions. — 1. The Greeks: (*a*) object of struggle; (*b*) attitude of western Europeans; (*c*) armed intervention and its results. 2. France: (*a*) reasons for opposition to government; (*b*) attempt of the king to change constitution; (*c*) part played by Lafayette; (*d*) character of the new government. 3. Belgian revolution, its causes and results. 4. Fate of Poland. 5. Reform in England. 6. Threatening situation in Austria-Hungary.

IMPORTANT DATES

1815. Treaty of alliance of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England against revolution.
1821. Revolt of the Greeks.
1823. Intervention in Spain: Monroe Doctrine.

1829. Catholic emancipation in England.
1830, July. Overthrow of Bourbons in France: the "July" revolution. Kingdom of Belgium established.
1832. Reform of the English parliament.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: histories of England by Gardiner, Green, Cheyne, Andrews, or Coman and Kendall; of France by Duruy or Adams; of Germany by Henderson; of Austria by Whitman; of Italy by Stillman, Probyn, or the Countess Cesaresco; general histories of Europe, by Fyffe, Seignobos, Phillips, Müller, Rose, and Judson.

PARAGRAPHS:

397. Trade: Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 212 ff.; reforms, Bright, III., 1401 ff.; Colby, No. 113, 115.

398. Organization of German Trade: Rand, *Economic History since 1763*, 170–206.

400. French Politics: Seignobos, 115–125; Charter of 1814, Anderson, No. 93; *Tr. and Rp.*, Vol. I., No. 3, pp. 2–8.

401. Reaction in Germany: Henderson, II., 324–338; Metternich's views, *Memoirs*, II., 129 ff., 179 ff.; documents, *Tr. and Rp., ibid.*, 10–19; reaction in Italy, Thayer, I., 139–178.

402. Holy Alliance: Seignobos, 748–759; including treaty of allies against France, Anderson, No. 100.

403. Spain and her Colonies: Payne, *European Colonies*, Chs. 16 ff.; Monroe Doctrine, Foster, *American Diplomacy*, Ch. 12; English view, Walpole, III., 58–68.

404. The Greeks: especially Fyffe. Compare paragraphs on old Greek empire and on the Turks.

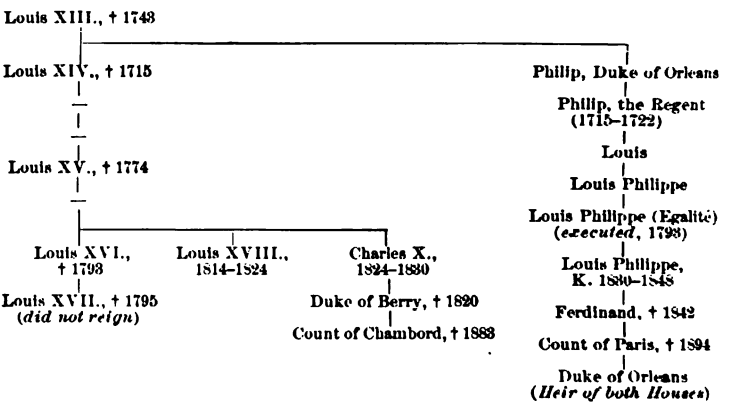
405. Revolution in France: Fyffe, 603–619; or Seignobos, 125–132; documents, Anderson, No. 104; see Bourbon-Orleans genealogy below.

408. Reform in England: Macy, Ch. 44; Colby, No. 116.

409. Austria-Hungary: Seignobos, 401–412; or Whitman, *Austria*.

Additional Reading: Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe;* Sears, *Political Growth in the Nineteenth Century;* Thayer, *Dawn of Italian Independence*, 2 vols.; Sybel, *The Founding of the German Empire*, 6 vols.; McCarthy, *History of our own Times*, 3 vols.; Walpole, *History of England*, 6 vols.; Lowell, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, 2 vols.

BOURBON-ORLEANS RELATIONSHIPS



CHAPTER XXVI.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

410. Revolution of 1848. — The Revolution of 1848 swept over Europe with greater rapidity than did the great Revolution of 1789. It also stirred more peoples. Instead of one nation enthusiastic for equality, half a dozen races were struggling to organize a national life, as well as to provide for civil equality and to remove the remains of ancient feudal burdens. Outside of France the success or failure of revolutionists depended upon Austria's ability to play again the part of general policeman. The darker the outlook for the Austrian monarchy at Vienna or at Prague or at Pesth, the greater the chance for a United Italy or a new German empire. When the imperial government recovered its hold upon its own provinces, the opportunity of Italian patriots and German liberals had passed away.

411. The Demand for Reform. — Few men in 1847 imagined that Europe was on the verge of another revolution, although the cry for reform in Italy, France, Hungary, and Germany had grown insistent. The hopes of the Italians were steadily rising, for Pius IX., upon his election to the papacy the year before, had pardoned all political exiles from his States, had granted the press greater freedom, had allowed the organization of a citizen guard, and had formed a council which was to advise the cardinals in matters of government. His example had been followed by the grand duke of Tuscany and by the king of Sardinia. Charles Albert of Sardinia had long hoped to put himself at the head of the Italians and to drive the Austrians out of Italy.

He had sent word to a group of patriots that "when the time comes, my life, the life of my children, my army, my treasury, my all will be spent in the Italian cause." These men already looked to him as the director of the struggle for Italian independence. The pope, they thought, should be its patron. The pope's position was embarrassing, because the Austrians were faithful children of the Church of which he was the head. In France the liberals urged that the tax qualification for voters should be reduced from forty dollars to twenty dollars, and that certain classes of professional men should be permitted to vote even if they did not pay so high a tax. They also urged that officials should not be allowed to sit in parliament, because they were generally controlled by the government. To compel the ministry, at the head of which was the historian Guizot, to make these concessions, the reformers held banquets where their demands could be freely discussed. In Germany there was a desire to replace the existing confederation with its powerless diet by a real union and a representative parliament.

412. New Constitutions in Italy.— The first insurrection took place in Sicily in January, 1848. At various periods the Sicilian government had been separate from that of Naples. During the Napoleonic wars the Neapolitan monarchy had taken refuge in Sicily under the protection of English guns. In 1812 a constitution was granted, so that the Sicilians had an experience of real self-government. It was to regain this constitution, which had been annulled in 1815, and a government separate from that of Naples, that they rose and captured Palermo. The king, alarmed by the insurrection, which threatened to involve Naples, granted a constitution, but took no account of the Sicilian demand for a separate parliament and administration. The system he introduced resembled the French government under Louis Philippe. Charles Albert, of Sardinia, could not afford to be outdone, and, early in March, granted the constitution which remained the fundamental law of the kingdom even after it annexed the other Italian states and

became the kingdom of Italy. This constitution was also like the French constitution of 1830.

413. Fall of Louis Philippe, February 24. — While Charles Albert was debating the terms of the constitution, there was an explosion in Paris, the echoes of which started revolutions in Vienna, in south Germany, and in Berlin. It grew out of an attempt to hold a great "reform" banquet. The Guizot ministry finally forbade this, but the excited crowds cried "Down with Guizot," and began to barricade the streets. When Louis Philippe found that his ministry was unpopular, even with the national guards, chosen from those prosperous families whose interests he had always favored, he reluctantly asked Guizot to resign. On that evening, February 23, a band of agitators gathered in front of Guizot's office. Some one fired a shot at the soldiers on guard, and they replied with a volley, killing several of the mob. The leaders placed the dead bodies in carts and carried them through the workmen's quarters, declaring that the government was shooting down the people. During the night the people took arms and covered the streets in the eastern parts of the city with barricades. The king did not wish to provoke civil war and abdicated in favor of his grandson, the young count of Paris. An attempt to proclaim the count of Paris king failed, and France was once more a republic. Many of the workingmen who had



F. P. G. Guizot, 1787–1874.

Appointed professor of history in Paris in 1812. Entered the service of the government under Louis XVIII. in 1814. Chief minister of Louis Philippe, virtually from 1840.

helped overthrow the monarchy were determined that this time the middle classes should not gain the whole advantage, as in 1830. They compelled the new government to recognize the right of every Frenchman to work and to promise the establishment of national workshops. They believed that the people should manage their industrial affairs as well as their government. Such ideas made many persons afraid that private property would be seized.

414. Hungary. — The news from Paris stirred the reformers in Germany, Austria, and Hungary, not because they desired a republic but because they saw in the victory of the Parisians the triumph of reform over an obstinate ministry. In South Germany reform ministries were forced upon several rulers and many petty tyrannies swept away. The Hungarians, although the revolutionary party under Kossuth was eager to have their country treated as a separate kingdom, remembered that the liberals in all parts of the empire must stand or fall together. Kossuth declared that the future of Hungary never would be secure while in the other provinces there existed "a system of government in direct antagonism to every constitutional principle." He did not see that though the peoples within the empire wished for political liberty each was unwilling to be governed by any of its rivals. As a Magyar or Hungarian, he felt this national sentiment, but he did not sympathize with it in the Croat or the Serb. March 13, a tumult in Vienna drove Metternich into exile, and the emperor was compelled to promise a constitution for Austria and separate governments for Hungary and Bohemia. At the same time he appointed as governor of Croatia Colonel Jellacic, who sympathized with the Croatians in their desire to become independent of Hungary.

415. Revolution in Prussia. — From the beginning of March the people of Berlin had been clamoring for a constitutional government. The year before, King Frederick William IV. had called together in a united diet all the provincial diets, but this did not satisfy those who insisted that the promises



made in 1813 should be fulfilled. After the news of the overthrow of Metternich, the king could resist no longer and on March 18 promised a written constitution and other reforms. The people excitedly gathered in the castle square to acclaim him. When the crowd became too noisy, the soldiers attempted to restore order. In the confusion two shots were fired. The people cried out that they were betrayed and began to barricade the streets. A battle ensued. The troops were gaining the upper hand when the king recalled them. They withdrew from the city, leaving it in control of the mob. The king not only promised that a representative assembly should meet in May, but he seemed ready to place himself at the head of those who were struggling for a united Germany. He rode through the city preceded by the old German banner of "black, red, and gold," and declared that "Prussia henceforth is merged in Germany."

416. Austria Attacked in Italy. — The news from Vienna excited Milan even more than it did Berlin. The people, after hard fighting, drove the Austrian general Radetzky out of Milan. Venice followed this example and took the name Republic of St. Mark. Apparently the time had come to which Charles Albert had referred in his letter to the Italian leaders, and he declared war against Austria, intending to drive her out of Italy. Neither the pope nor the king of Naples could resist the new national enthusiasm and they sent their troops northward toward the plains of Lombardy and Venice. General Radetzky took refuge in the famous quadrilateral, covered by four fortified cities and by the rivers Mincio and Adige. The spring and summer of 1848 offered the enemies of Austria their great opportunity.

417. National Jealousies. — From the beginning there were ominous signs that Austria's resource was to be the jealousies of her foes. Among the troops fighting against the liberties of the Italians were regiments of Croats, which were urged by Governor Jellacic to be faithful to the Austrian emperor who alone could free Croatia from the tyranny of the Hungarians.

Charles Albert could not count upon real help from either the pope or the king of Naples. The pope was anxious not to give offence to the Austrians, who had long been faithful supporters of the papacy. The king of Naples needed his army at home, for the Sicilians refused to accept the constitution which he had granted. Early in May they formally deposed him as king and announced that after the reorganization of their government they would select some other Italian prince as monarch. They were considered traitors not merely by the king but by all Neapolitans who wished to preserve the unity of the kingdom. Similar obstacles hindered the plan to reorganize Germany. A National parliament was chosen to meet at Frankfort. Bohemia was asked to send deputies, because she had been a state of the old empire. The Bohemian Czechs or Slavs refused, fearing that they would be submerged in a sea of Germans. They also showed their antagonism by arranging for a Slav congress at Prague. Germany had another enemy in Denmark, where the wave of national feeling brought about an attempt to incorporate within the Danish kingdom the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, over which the Danish king reigned as duke. Holstein was a member of the Confederation and it, as well as the southern part of Schleswig, was inhabited by Germans. Danish patriotism and German patriotism came into conflict and led to fighting. It was in Hungary, however, that violent race hatreds gave the imperial government its best opportunity. The Slovacs in the northeast, the Rumans in Transylvania, the Serbs, Slovenians, and the Croats in the south, protested against being absorbed by the Hungarians, while the Hungarians were equally determined to rule these formerly docile peoples. Jellacic only waited for permission to invade Hungary, and the Serbs were already fighting the Hungarian troops. If the Austrian army and the advisers of the emperor could once recover from the panic into which the riots in Vienna had thrown them, these national and race jealousies would render easy the reconquest of the lost supremacy.

418. The Reaction. — As the earliest revolution had taken place in the kingdom of Naples, so the reaction began there. On the fifteenth of May, three days before the German National parliament met, in a riot brought about by a controversy between the king and his new chamber of deputies, his troops were victorious. The assembly was dissolved and another election ordered. The king ordered the Neapolitan army which had been sent northward, ostensibly against the Austrians, to return to Naples. A month later there were riots in Prague. They were suppressed so thoroughly by the Austrian general Windischgrätz that the promise to grant the Bohemians a separate assembly was ignored, and they were required to elect representatives for the Austrian parliament. At the same time a struggle was fought out in Paris which frightened all the men of property in Europe. It had been impossible to establish the promised national workshops in the midst of political turmoil and the consequent stagnation in business, and the government set every one who applied for work to digging in the Champ de Mars. This army of workmen soon numbered over one hundred thousand. As they were organized and drilled in order to control them more effectively, they were a menace to the peace of the city. The new National assembly, chosen to draw up a constitution for France, resolved to disband this army and to provide relief for the unemployed in some other way. The workmen, believing themselves face to face with starvation, resolved not to yield without a struggle. For four days, from June 23 to June 26, Paris was turned into a battlefield. Troops were brought on the railroad from distant parts of France, and the insurrection was crushed. The news that Paris had barely escaped falling into the hands of a mob sent a thrill of fear through Europe. The result was that the aristocracy and the middle classes drew back from revolutionary plans. In July came another blow. Charles Albert of Sardinia was defeated, forced to abandon Lombardy, and early in August to sign a truce. This freed the Austrian army for use against the revolutionists. Shortly afterward the Austrian parlia-

ment abolished feudalism, providing that all rights over land should be redeemed, while rights over persons were annulled without any payment. This satisfied the peasants and they took little further interest in the political struggle. By this time Jellacic had begun to invade Hungary, which the Austrian government declared to be in a state of siege. New disorders in Vienna compelled the emperor to flee to Moravia. General Windischgrätz marched southward to capture Vienna. The Hungarians sent an army to its relief, but were defeated. October 31, the city was taken by storm. The triumph of the government was made more sure by the abdication, December 2, of the sickly Emperor Ferdinand, who was succeeded by his nephew Francis Joseph.

419. The German Parliament. — Between May 18 and October 31 the German National parliament at Frankfort accomplished scarcely anything, although among its members were many of the ablest men in Germany. Since it had been chosen directly by the people, it was watched uneasily by princes, who were ready to take advantage of its blunders in order to recover control lost in the March uprisings. Although it was important to do at once whatever was necessary to create a strong Germany, united under an effective federal government, it was five weeks before the deputies began to discuss the constitution, and then they took up first the "rights of man," as the French did in 1789. These they discussed for four months. Their attempt to direct the settlement with Denmark over the Schleswig-Holstein troubles was a failure, all the worse because some of them used it as an excuse to start a vain insurrection in southern Germany. Meanwhile matters had been going from bad to worse in Prussia. When the new Prussian assembly met in May, its leaders saw that they could not count upon the fickle Frederick William, and found that the Berlin populace, like the Parisians in 1789, was ready to insult or threaten the deputies unless they voted revolutionary measures. The nobles, and among them Bismarck, rallied to the defence of their privileges. The king

only waited for a chance to be rid of the assembly altogether. His opportunity came when the Austrian government had recaptured Vienna. Two days later, November 2, he appointed a new ministry, which summoned the assembly to meet at Brandenburg, where it could no longer be supported or controlled by the Berliners, and then he dissolved the assembly, announcing that he would proclaim a constitution. After the royal power had been restored at Vienna and at Berlin the Frankfort parliament undertook to settle the serious question whether the new federation was to include the whole Austrian empire or only the German parts. If all the empire were included, the confederation would be continually involved in disputes with which Germany was not concerned, but which the Austrian empire must consider because of its Polish, or Servian, or Croatian population. After a long controversy, parliament decided to admit only the German portions of the Austrian dominions. This was regarded by the Austrians as a blow at the unity of their states. The attempt of the Hungarians to save Vienna from capture by the imperial troops had led to an invasion of Hungary and the occupation of Pesth. Early in March a proclamation was issued by the Emperor Francis Joseph which bestowed a single constitution upon all parts of his dominions. To this challenge the German parliament replied, March 28, by choosing as emperor Frederick William IV. of Prussia. But Frederick William was disgusted with the revolutionists and declared he wished no crown picked out of the gutter, like that which Louis Philippe had accepted in 1830. Such a refusal doomed the whole project of the parliament, which was soon afterward broken up.

420. Austrian Successes. — Had Frederick William accepted the crown it would have meant war with Austria. March 23, only five days before the Frankfort parliament elected him, the Austrians had gained a final victory over Charles Albert of Sardinia at Novara. Since the truce made in August, the questions of government in Italy had been farther than ever

from settlement. The pope and the grand duke of Tuscany had fled from their capitals, and republics had been organized at Rome and at Florence under the influence of Mazzini. Charles Albert saw that in renewed war with Austria lay his only hope of retaining the support of his own people and the confidence of liberal Italians. The campaign lasted less than a week and ended in disaster. Knowing that so long as he remained king the Austrians would not grant his country a reasonable peace, he abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel. Even after this victory Austria's hands were not altogether free. The Hungarians would not accept the constitution, and the more revolutionary of them, under Kossuth, attempted to depose Francis Joseph and to prepare the way for a republic. In Italy the Tuscan and Roman republics were yet to be dealt with. An Austrian army restored the grand duke of Tuscany in May and would have proceeded to restore Pius IX. had the French not interfered. France was nominally a republic with Louis Napoleon, nephew of the great emperor, as president, but her political leaders in 1849 had lost all real sympathy with republican government. Moreover, they were unwilling that Austria should again control the affairs of central Italy. Some of them thought the new Roman republic would accept France as mediator and that the pope could be restored peacefully. Mazzini and his supporters scouted the idea of making terms with Pope Pius or allowing the French army to enter Rome. It was only after a siege that the city was taken in July and the papal government reëstablished. Meanwhile the Austrians had been struggling to put down the Hungarian



KOSSUTH.

Lajos (Louis) Kossuth, born in Hungary, 1802; died in Italy, 1894. Much of his later life spent in exile.



insurrection. They succeeded in doing this in August through the assistance of a large Russian army which the Tsar Nicholas was glad to send, because he regarded himself as the special enemy of revolutionists everywhere. Shortly after this Venice was obliged to surrender. The king of Naples had already recovered Sicily and the German question was the only one still unsettled. Austria did not intend that its settlement should be left to Prussia.

421. Triumph of Austria. — A month after he had declined the imperial crown, Frederick William called a conference at Berlin in order that the governments might attempt what the representatives of the people had failed to accomplish. Although Austria sent a delegate to the conference, he withdrew almost at once. Bavaria did the same; and Saxony and Hanover consented to form a league with Prussia principally to gain time until Austria should have put down the Hungarians and captured Venice. Since Prussia proposed a federal constitution which pleased many of the members of the recent Frankfort parliament, they urged their own governments to join in forming a Union parliament. This parliament met in March, 1850, in spite of the opposition of Austria, under whose influence the old diet of the Confederation had resumed its sittings at Frankfort as if there had been no revolution. Influenced by the tsar and threatened by Austria, Prussia was obliged to abandon the Union and to recognize the diet. The Austrians had resolved to "first cheapen and then destroy" their rival. The memory of this time of bitter humiliation, called the Humiliation of Olmütz, because it was at Olmütz, in November, 1850, that the final agreement was made, remained with the Prussians until the day of vengeance came. Hardly a remnant endured of the work of the revolution in Germany or in Austria. A few of the good laws equalizing taxation and removing feudal burdens had not been swept away in the turn of the tide.

422. A Second Empire in France. — France also was drifting back toward strong government, not through the restoration

of the monarchy but through the establishment of a second empire. The constitution of 1848 provided for a president chosen by the people and for a legislative assembly. Since the president would be at the head of the army and could appoint all government officers, including prefects of the departments, he was much stronger than the legislature, which could simply make the laws. One of the candidates for the presidency was Louis Napoleon, a nephew of Napoleon I. By this time the disasters of the first empire had been forgotten and only its glorious memories remained. The name Napoleon was a household word in even the most obscure village. It is not surprising that Louis Napoleon received nearly three times as many votes as all the other candidates taken together. The legislative assembly chosen in 1849 was composed chiefly of men who desired to see either the grandson of Charles X. or the grandson of Louis Philippe on the throne. The republican deputies could defend the constitution only by taking advantage of the disputes between the monarchists. Gradually President Napoleon began to insist that he was more directly the representative of the people than the assembly, because his majority had been so large. He gathered a party about him and planned to extend his period of office, which, according to the constitution, was limited to one term. The assembly lost its popularity with the poorer people by passing a law which



NAPOLEON III.

Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, son of Louis Bonaprate, king of Holland, and Hortense de Beauharnais, who was the daughter of Josephine. Born at Paris, 1808. Took part in an Italian insurrection in 1831. Later made two unsuccessful attempts to overthrow Louis Philippe. After the ruin of the empire he lived in England, where he died in 1873.



took the ballot away from three millions of them. It also made a law upon education which gave the clergy more control over the schools than they had had even under Charles X. There were many who felt that the easiest way out of the difficulty was to amend the constitution so that Napoleon could be re-elected, but the monarchists prevented this. Although rumors were heard that Napoleon would seize power, the republicans were so afraid of the monarchists that they joined his friends in refusing to permit the assembly to call upon the army for protection. Napoleon saw that his opportunity had come. December 2, 1851, the anniversary of Austerlitz, he ordered the arrest of many prominent men, dismissed the assembly, restored universal suffrage, and asked the people to accept or reject a new constitution much like that of 1800. The vote showed that the people were on his side, for over seven millions voted for him and only six hundred thousand against his project. A year later a still larger popular vote restored the empire and gave him the title Napoleon III. From the Revolution of 1848 France had preserved only universal suffrage, of which she had made so strange a use.

423. English Difficulties. — England was the only one of the great European countries that passed through the period of 1848 without dangerous upheavals. Nevertheless she had her troubles. Many of the poorer people had been dissatisfied that the reform of 1832 had not brought them relief from their miseries. They demanded a charter providing for universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and the payment of members, so that poor men could afford to represent their districts. In April, 1848, they proposed to march upon Westminster bearing a monster petition. Troops were called out and two hundred thousand special constables were enrolled. The "Chartists," as the agitators were nicknamed, were intimidated by this display of force and sent the petition to parliament in three cabs. There was more serious trouble in Ireland, which had suffered terribly from famine in 1845 and 1846. The repeal of the import duties on grain did not immediately bring relief. After

the famine was ended, the landlords began to evict their poorer tenants in order that better methods of cultivation might be introduced. Thousands were put out on the roadsides. During these years the great stream of Irish emigration toward the United States began. English industry and trade grew rapidly, chiefly through the building of railroads and the opening of steamship lines. Men boasted that a new era was dawning in which freedom of trade was to make war impossible. To celebrate this industrial and commercial progress an international exhibition was organized in the Crystal Palace in London in 1851. Unhappily the hopes for peace were destined soon to be disappointed by a new series of terrible wars.

SUMMARY

I. Reform or Revolution. — 1. Particular changes desired in France, Italy, and Germany. 2. New constitutions in Italy. 3. France: (*a*) accidental character of the February revolution; (*b*) demands of the Revolutionists. 4. Austria-Hungary: (*a*) national ambitions of the Hungarians; (*b*) overthrow of Metternich. 5. Germany: (*a*) liberal ministries established; (*b*) uprising of the Berliners; (*c*) attitude of Prussian king toward German national movement.

II. Austria on the Defensive. — 1. In Italy. 2. Her resources, national jealousies: (*a*) Croats and Serbs *vs.* Hungarians; (*b*) Sicilians *vs.* Neapolitans; (*c*) Slavs *vs.* Germans; (*d*) Danes *vs.* Germans. 3. Revolution loses its allies: (*a*) in Naples; (*b*) in Paris. 4. Austria regains control in Bohemia and Vienna.

III. Revolution on the Defensive. — 1. Failure of the Frankfort parliament. 2. Prussian assembly dissolved. 3. Frederick William declines the imperial crown. 4. Defeat of Charles Albert. 5. Suppression of Roman and Tuscan republics. 6. Defeat of Hungarian rebellion. 7. Humiliation of Prussia: (*a*) plan of the king; (*b*) policy of the smaller states; (*c*) Prussia compelled to abandon the "Union." 8. France: (*a*) the republicans in the minority; (*b*) policy of President Napoleon; (*c*) means by which he became master of France. 9. Situation in England.

DATES CLOSELY CONNECTED

1848, January. Insurrection in Sicily.
February 24. Overthrow of Louis Philippe: the "February" Revolution.
March 13. Metternich driven from power in Vienna.
March 18. Uprisings in Milan and Berlin (connect Sardinia, declares war on Austria).
May 15. Suppression of insurrection in Naples.
June 17. Suppression of insurrection in Prague.
June 23–26. Great battle in Paris.
October 31. Capture of Vienna.
November 2. Prussian assembly prorogued.
1849, March 4. Union of Francis Joseph's dominions decreed.
March 23. Defeat of Charles Albert at Novara.
March 28. Frederick William IV. offered imperial crown of Germany.
1852. Reëstablishment of the French Empire.

FURTHER STUDY

PARAGRAPHS:—

General Reading: see chapter 25, and especially, for France, Seignobos or Duruy; for Germany, Henderson; for Austria, Whitman; for Hungary, Vambéry; for Italy, Cesaresco, Probyn, or Stillman; for Russia, Skrine; Headlam's *Bismarck*.

411. Italy: for history of Italy since the Renaissance, see paragraphs **188, 200, 206, 246, 290, 295, 299**; agitation in Italy, Probyn, 71 ff.; in France, Seignobos, 145 ff.

412. Constitution of Sardinia, see Lowell, *Governments and Parties*, I. 148 ff.

413. Revolution of 1848 in France: Anderson, Nos. 107–109; Seignobos, 155–162; or Fyffe, 699–706; Tocqueville's *Recollections*; Senior.

414. Austria-Hungary: Phillips, 274–279.

415. March Days in Berlin: Henderson, II., 348–352; Sybel, I., 145–160. Bismarck's experiences, *Autobiography*, I., 22–34.

416–418. Revolution or Reaction: the situation in northern and southern Italy, in Germany and Hungary and Bohemia may be studied in detail separately and afterwards put together as in the text to illustrate the theme; for this purpose Fyffe, Seignobos, or Phillips are useful, or the histories of separate countries. The

PARAGRAPHS: —

task will be rendered easier by a chronological table with parallel columns presenting to the eye the relations in time between the different series of events.

419–421. Reaction in Germany: Henderson, II., 358–360; Bismarck, *Autobiography*, I., 54 ff.

422. Empire in France: Seignobos, 168 ff.; Anderson, No. 111.

423. The Chartists: Lee, Nos. 221–224; Kendall, Nos. 134–137.

Additional Reading: Bismarck's *Autobiography, the Man and the Statesman*, *Reflections and Reminiscences*; Tocqueville's *Recollections*; Senior, *Conversations with Thiers and Guizot*, 2 vols.

CHAPTER XXVII.

A NEW ERA OF NATIONAL WARS

424. Crimean and Italian Wars. — Trade between European states became freer for a time, as the English followers of Cobden and Bright had prophesied, but national rivalries did not come to an end. In the period from 1852 to 1863 there were two great conflicts: the Crimean war, which arose out of jealousies over the settlement of difficulties within the Turkish empire, and the Italian war, caused by the desire of the Italians to unite under the rule of Victor Emmanuel, king of Sardinia, and to drive the Austrians out of Italy. In both these wars the newly chosen Emperor Napoleon was the most influential personage. Before the period was over he was involved in difficulties which were to cripple him in the contest with Prussia in the years that followed. The decade between 1852 and 1862 was for Prussia one of quiet preparation.

425. Industry and Trade. — The first effect of the restoration of order, after the Revolution of 1848, was the revival of industry and trade. England was still far in the lead. Her railway system was practically completed before 1848. She had introduced the electric telegraph and the penny post. From 1845 to 1849 she had destroyed her system of protective tariffs and navigation laws, and opened her ports to the products and the shipping of all nations. In France a railway system had been projected during the monarchy of Louis Philippe, but the work of construction was broken off by the financial troubles of 1847, and by the revolution of the following year. During the republic something had been done to complete the scheme, but it was only after the empire was

established that this work was pushed forward successfully. The roads were given franchises for ninety-nine years, and the government encouraged the formation of a few large companies, so that the service should be more economical. In consequence the cost of freight was reduced by one-half, and each community marketed its products to greater advantage. Prices in different parts of France became more uniform, and varied little from summer to winter. The working population moved about more freely. This led to a reorganization of industry, with a more careful division of labor. While such efforts were being made to increase trade, Napoleon and some of his advisers thought it inconsistent to leave unchanged the old tariff laws which forbade the importation of various products and placed high import duties upon all. Accordingly he reduced several of the rates by imperial decree, and in 1860 made a treaty with England providing for import duties on English goods not to exceed twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*. Shortly afterward the old colonial system, by which France insisted upon the monopoly of trade with her colonies, was also abandoned. Many French manufacturers cried out that they were ruined; nevertheless these changes were followed by a new period of industrial success.

426. The Kingdom of Sardinia. — The kingdom of Sardinia had been crushed in its war with Austria, but King Victor Emmanuel and his ministers set resolutely at work reorganizing its resources. The king refused Austria's offer to make the terms of peace less burdensome on condition that he would repudiate the constitution. The work of reorganization was intrusted chiefly to Count Cavour, the statesman who was to be the founder of a unified Italy. Railroads were constructed, fortifications were strengthened, and ships were added to the fleet. Monasteries were closed and their lands were sold to the farmers. The money was used to pay the salaries of the parish clergy. In this Victor Emmanuel was wiser and more honest than Henry VIII. of England, or the French in the days of the Revolution. Such interference with the privileges

of the Church was sure to be condemned by the pope and by many of the clergy, especially as the government during the same period deprived them of their right to special courts. Victor Emmanuel did not wish to imitate the other rulers of Europe by turning his back upon representative government, but he did not scruple to win Napoleon's good will by promptly recognizing his title as emperor. Napoleon remarked to the Sardinian ambassador, "A day will come when the two countries will find themselves companions in arms for the noble cause of Italy."



VICTOR EMMANUEL II.

Born at Turin, 1820; died at Rome, 1878. Became King of Sardinia upon the abdication of Charles Albert immediately after the battle of Novara, March 23, 1849.

427. The Prussian Customs Union. — Liberal men were disheartened at the outlook in Germany. Many of them emigrated to America. The Prussian constitution which Frederick William IV. had granted gave to the assembly little more than the right to be consulted. Taxes could be collected from year to year without its consent. It became customary to spend the money and afterward to submit the budget of expenditure to the assembly for approval. The Austrians were not content with the victory gained over Prussia in 1850 and meant to share her influence over trade through the customs union or to form a new customs union especially with the south German states. Prussia was determined not to yield in this as she had yielded in the struggle to reorganize the confederation. She worked to reorganize the old union on the basis of lower tariffs, with the intention that the union should, after reorganization, make a commercial

treaty with Austria. Public opinion in Germany was with Prussia, believing that its industrial interests would be promoted by renewing the union rather than by joining Austria and by accepting Austria's plan of increasing the tariff rates upon all products imported into either Austria or Germany. Austria was unable finally to prevent the union from being renewed in 1853 for twelve years.

428. The Turkish Empire. — In 1853 the attention of Europe was turned toward Turkey. The loss of Greece had not been the last of the sultan's troubles. The other Christian peoples of the Balkan peninsula wished also to throw off his rule. Servia was practically independent. In Bosnia and Herzegovina the population was restless. The Bulgarians, too, recalled their ancient glories. The Rumanians of Moldavia and Wallachia governed themselves under chosen hospodars and were less eager for freedom from the nominal rule of the sultan than from the dangerous protectorate that Russia had acquired over them. They wished to unite into a kingdom the two principalities and possibly the Rumanian part of Transylvania. Fired by the news of 1848 from western Europe, they attempted a peaceful revolution. The sultan was apparently ready to grant a greater measure of local self-government and many of the liberties which men were fighting for in Germany and Italy, but the Tsar Nicholas interfered and compelled him to take away privileges that the principalities had long possessed. A still greater danger had threatened the sultan. The viceroy of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, undertook to seize Syria in 1832, and perhaps to supplant the sultan at Constantinople. Russia offered her protection, but in a way which would make a Russian dependency of the Turkish empire and a Russian outpost of the Dardanelles. Western Europe looked on uneasily, and a few years later interposed, in order to substitute itself for Russia as the guardian of Turkey. Merchant vessels of all nations were thenceforth to pass freely through the straits, which were to be closed to war vessels, except when the sultan was at war.

429. The Causes of the Crimean War. — In 1853 the Tsar Nicholas had become convinced that the Turkish empire must soon disappear. He said to the English ambassador at St. Petersburg: "We have on our hands a sick man — a very sick man; it will be a great misfortune, if one of these days he should slip away from us, especially before all necessary arrangements were made." When the fated day should arrive England might take Egypt and Crete, but he would not allow either England or France to occupy Constantinople. He could not promise not to occupy it himself, but he was ready to agree not to remain there. He felt that if Russia and England were agreed it was of small consequence what the other governments wished. But the English were reluctant to see Russian influence pushing steadily southward, endangering their own power in the eastern Mediterranean and threatening the overland routes to India. At this juncture a controversy arose between France and Russia over the rights of Catholic and Greek priests to guard the holy places in Palestine. The Emperor Napoleon was determined to pose as the protector of Latin Christianity, while the Tsar Nicholas was equally determined not to suffer the Greeks to be thrust into the background. The tsar sent a special embassy to Constantinople to insist not only upon these Greek privileges but to demand for himself the guardianship of the Greek Christians throughout the Turkish empire. If the sultan had granted this, Russia would have had opportunities to interfere constantly in Turkish affairs. Through the efforts of the English ambassador in Constantinople the question of the holy places was amicably settled, while the sultan was emboldened to reject the more dangerous demands of Russia. The Russian ambassador left Constantinople in May threatening vengeance. War could still have been prevented had Napoleon and England not repeatedly acted in such fashion as to make it difficult for the tsar to yield and had they waited for Austrian coöperation. Austria's situation made her the natural antagonist of Russian influence in the Balkan peninsula. Napoleon counted on this to break the friendship between Aus-

tria and Russia, but he wished Austria to gain no new allies by openly joining in the conflict with the tsar, for he saw that it would be far easier to force a friendless power out of Italy, and he thought that a war between the Sardinians and the Austrians would soon be brought on. The English did not see through this scheme and did not insist upon the help of Austria. The result was war, in October, between Turkey and Russia, and a little later, in March, 1854, between Russia and the two allies, France and England.

430. The Crimean War. — This war is named from the Crimea, where the French and the English finally attacked the Russians, thinking that it would be difficult for the Russians to forward troops across the plains of southern Russia. The allies also wished to destroy the naval arsenal of Sebastopol. After the siege began it was the allies rather than the Russians that were in the most danger. At Balaclava and again at Inkerman the Russians nearly succeeded in breaking the southern siege lines. No attempt could be made to prevent Russian reënforcements from entering the city by the northern roads. The siege dragged on through the terrible winter of 1854. The English were unable adequately to care for their soldiers or even to feed them. At one time out of twenty-four thousand men thirteen thousand were in the hospital. The Russians had more men in the fortress than the allies had in the trenches outside. In the spring new English and French armies were sent to the Crimea, and Victor Emmanuel despatched a body of Italian troops, partly in order that the kingdom of Sardinia might be counted among the greater states, but chiefly that he might win the gratitude of Napoleon and gain in him an ally for the inevitable struggle with Austria. After one or two vain attempts to storm the Russian lines, the French army succeeded, September 8, 1855, in taking the Malakof fort which commanded the entire position. The Russians blew up their works and retired from the burning city. During the winter the Tsar Nicholas had died and his son Alexander saw that the time had come to make peace. Napoleon was also willing to make peace,

although in England the war spirit was still strong. To arrange the terms, a congress of diplomats met at Paris, where the treaty was signed in 1856. Its terms marked little change except that Russia was no longer to maintain a fleet or to build arsenals on the Black Sea. Upon the promise of the sultan to better the condition of his Christian subjects the powers all agreed to treat him as an independent sovereign whose government concerned himself alone. This was disastrous to the Christian peoples of the Balkans, but the powers were anxious to keep any one of their number from gaining control over the "sick man."

431. Revolt in India, 1857–1858. — In the following year England's Indian possessions were seriously threatened by an insurrection of the native troops called sepoys. So rapid had been the extension of British control, not only in India but also in Burmah, that the natives became alarmed. Often their rights were rudely brushed aside in the interest of what the British thought was better administration. The English garrison had been diminished by the despatch of regiments to the Crimea. The result was that the sepoys began to despise their masters and to plot the restoration of the Mughal empire at Delhi, and of the states which were formerly its vassals. Reports were circulated among the troops that the English intended to force them to become Christians, and to this end planned first to defile them by compelling them to use cartridges greased with the fat of cows or pigs. The sepoys near Delhi rose in May, 1857. Soon the northeastern part of India was in an uproar. The natives committed fearful atrocities. English troops were hurried to the East, and after hard fighting the revolt was suppressed. Parliament took this opportunity to bring the East India Company to an end and to provide for the direct administration of India through a secretary of state who should be a member of the cabinet.

432. Policy of Cavour. — At the congress of Paris which settled the terms of peace between Russia and the allies, — France, England, and Sardinia, — Count Cavour, supported by

Napoleon, pointed out the troubled condition of Italy. Austria was largely responsible for this, not only in her own territories of Lombardy and Venice, but in the States of the Church and in Naples. Since Austria now had few friends in Europe, Cavour believed that Sardinia's opportunity had come. Every effort was made to prepare for the inevitable struggle. In a public subscription to fortify Alessandria the people of Milan and of Venice shared, although these cities were ruled by Austria. Napoleon secretly promised Cavour that in case Sardinia should be attacked by Austria, France would declare war, and that the French armies would not withdraw until Lombardy, Venice, and one or two smaller states farther south had been added to Victor Emmanuel's kingdom. Tuscany and the other states of central Italy were to form a separate kingdom, over which Napoleon wished to place his cousin. In this way Italy would be composed of four kingdoms, which might be united into a federation under the honorary headship of the pope, though actually controlled by Victor Emmanuel. Napoleon's reward was to be Savoy and the county of Nice.



COUNT DI CAVOUR, 1810–1861.

Became prime minister of the kingdom of Sardinia in 1852.

433. War in Italy. — The Austrians were so exasperated at the Sardinians and so sure of a speedy victory that they fell into the trap set for them by Cavour and declared war upon the Sardinians in April, 1859. A French army immediately crossed the Alps. The Austrians were defeated at Magenta and Solferino and driven back across the Mincio. Milan fell into the hands of the Sardinians. But Napoleon discovered that he had let loose a torrent which it would be difficult to

check. The Tuscans of Florence and the subjects of the pope at Bologna were as anxious as the Lombards to join the Sardinians. Unless the war was stopped there would be little chance of creating the central kingdom he had planned, and there might be a general uprising throughout Italy. He had been shocked also by the great loss of life at the battle of Solferino. Moreover, the Prussians had begun to assemble their army as if they intended to help Austria. Many ardent French Catholics protested vigorously against the help he seemed to give to rebels against the pope's authority. These considerations led him to make peace with the Emperor Francis Joseph early in July. Sardinia was to receive only Lombardy. The states like Tuscany which had driven away their rulers were to restore them. Cavour was so angry at the turn of affairs that for a time he withdrew from the Sardinian government.

434. Struggle for Central and Southern Italy. — The deposed rulers of central Italy were not restored. The peoples waited quietly until it became clear that some other settlement must be made. Late in the fall Napoleon proposed a congress which should make an acceptable arrangement. The pope would accept nothing but the submission of his rebellious subjects. Napoleon, annoyed by the rejection of his plan, and eager to obtain Nice and Savoy, agreed that the peoples of central Italy should vote upon the question of annexation to Sardinia, while the inhabitants of Nice and Savoy were also to vote upon annexation to France. It was hard for Victor Emmanuel to give up the land which had been the home of his ancestors, but it was a sacrifice he owed to the cause of Italian unity. This assured annexation in both cases, in March and April, 1860. Meanwhile a revolt had begun in Sicily. Garibaldi immediately raised a small army and went to the assistance of the Sicilians. Victor Emmanuel and Cavour secretly favored the expedition, although Sardinia was at peace with the kingdom of Naples. By August Sicily was in the hands of Garibaldi. He crossed the straits into the kingdom of Naples

and marched rapidly toward the capital. The king withdrew toward the north, and Garibaldi was enthusiastically received in the city of Naples. Cavour and Victor Emmanuel feared that Garibaldi would yield to men like Mazzini and use his power to start a republican movement. They sent word to Napoleon that unless Sardinia intervened Garibaldi might march upon Rome and attack the pope. This would place Napoleon in the dilemma of fighting against the Italian patriots or of allowing Austria to reëstablish her influence in Italy by acting as defender of the pope. If the Sardinians should intervene it would be necessary for them to proceed through papal Umbria and the Marches, the population of which was already clamoring for annexation to Sardinia. There was no help for it, and Napoleon said simply, "Do it quickly." In October, when Victor Emmanuel appeared in the south, Garibaldi yielded patriotically, and the peoples of this kingdom, as well as of the papal lands east of the Apennines, voted to join the Sardinian kingdom. During the following winter the first Italian parliament assembled at Turin, and Victor Emmanuel took the title King of Italy. Only Rome and Venice remained outside the union.



GARIBALDI.

Giuseppe Garibaldi, born at Nice, 1807; died, 1882. An exile in 1834. At one time a naturalized citizen of the United States. Fought for Roman republic of 1849. After Naples and Sicily were united to kingdom of Sardinia he withdrew to island of Caprera, near Sardinia.

435. The Conflict in Prussia. — When the Prussian government had protested against the annexation of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Cavour had said to their ambassador, "I am setting an example which Prussia will by and by be very glad to imitate." If Prussia was to unite Germany, as Sardinia had



UNIFICATION OF ITALY

Kingdom of Sardinia in 1859, in red; Savoy and Nice, outlined; Piedmont and Sardinia in solid color. Territory ceded to kingdom by Peace of Villafranca outlined in orange. Central Italy annexed by consent of Napoleon III, in yellow. Kingdom of Naples and Sicily conquered by Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel, in purple. Venice was to be annexed in 1866 and Rome in 1870.



united Italy, Prussia must also be ready to seize opportunities. In Germany, as in Italy, Austria was the enemy, although the rivalry was not embittered by differences of race, since Austria was still thought of as a German state. Frederick William IV. had been succeeded by his brother William I., who believed that Prussia must have a strong army if her word was to count in the settlement of German questions. Although the law provided that all young men must serve three years in the army, it had become customary to dismiss them after two years' service in order to reduce army expenses. William determined to enforce the law and asked additional money to meet the expenditure. Parliament granted this temporarily, but in 1861 the Lower House refused to continue the grant. The House of Lords approved the king's course. The king believed that the real question was whether he was to rule or was, like the English kings, simply to carry out the will of the parliamentary majority. In 1862 he was on the point of abdicating because his policy seemed doomed to failure. His courage was restored by Bismarck, whom he appointed president of his council. Bismarck resolved to carry out the king's policy even if it were necessary for a time to govern without parliament. There was no hope of obtaining at a general election a new House more submissive, and Bismarck prorogued parliament in order that the king might use the power given him in the constitution of making ordinances while parliament was not in session. This gave the government an opportunity to reorganize the army and make it ready for effective action.

436. Reform in Russia. — Alexander II., of Russia, has been called the "Liberator" because he freed the serfs in 1861. He deserved the title also because he sought to give Russia a better system of courts and some rights of local self-government. The freedom of the serfs was opposed here as in Germany by the nobles, but they did not dare to resist openly. The tsar's advisers were anxious that the peasants should not wander away to the cities or become mere agricultural laborers, and the decree provided that the land should be divided between

them and their lords. The land which they received was to be held in common by each group of villagers. The peasants were to pay their lords a sum of money representing the value of the services which they were wont to render, and the government offered to advance the money. This settlement satisfied the peasants no more than the lords, for the peasants thought that the land belonged to them and that the lords had, merely as the tsar's soldiers, been allowed to receive their labor or their contributions. The reforms in Russia excited the Poles, who still hoped for the reëstablishment of their ancient kingdom. Russian officers greatly increased the discontent by dispersing peaceful gatherings. The result was a dangerous insurrection in Poland in 1863. Once more the sympathy of Europe for the Poles was aroused. France, England, and Austria attempted to interfere in their behalf, but the tsar would not accept advice. Bismarck seized the opportunity to put the tsar under obligation to Prussia. He did this by closing the Prussian frontier to Polish refugees. The insurrection was put down in 1864, and the Russian government began systematically to destroy everything which reminded the Poles that they were a distinct nation. It attempted to separate the interests of peasants and lords by granting to the peasants the land which they had cultivated. The effect of this struggle was to chill the earlier enthusiasm for reform.

437. The Blunders of Napoleon. — The prosperous days of Napoleon's empire were over. He had discovered that French finances were in disorder and that the debt was rapidly increasing. The Church party harassed him because of the help which he had given to the Sardinians. In order to find new friends he allowed, after 1860, more liberty of discussion in the legislative assembly. This only increased the number of those who wished a regular parliamentary government. At the same time he undertook to establish an empire in Mexico with the Archduke Maximilian, the brother of the Austrian emperor, on the throne. Mexico had been in a state of chronic civil war, during which injury had been done to Europeans.

Napoleon, with England and Spain, undertook, in 1861, to collect damages by force. His allies abandoned him when they saw that he intended to take up the cause of one of the Mexican parties and overthrow the republic. His aim was to create a Latin empire, which might serve as a barrier to the extension of the influence of the United States. The time was well chosen, for the United States was torn by the great Civil War, which Napoleon hoped would result in the final collapse of the Union. Napoleon would have recognized the independence of the Confederacy had the English government been ready to venture the same thing. The English aristocracy felt as he did, but the working people saw that slavery was their real enemy and that the North was their natural champion. To carry out his Mexican scheme Napoleon sent over a French army in 1862. Before he was able to extricate himself from the affair, events in Europe showed how sorely he needed all his troops at home if he was to maintain the leadership he had held from 1853 until 1861.

SUMMARY

I. New Period of Social and Industrial Progress. — 1. Railway, penny post, and telegraph. 2. Effect of railway upon economic life of France. 3. Commercial treaty between France and England. 4. Reforms in kingdom of Sardinia. 5. Prussian success in control of Customs Union.

II. The Turkish Empire. — 1. Movement of Christian peoples toward independence. 2. The attack of Mehemet Ali. 3. Causes of the Crimean war: (*a*) desire of Russia to act as protector of Christian subjects of the sultan; (*b*) quarrel over guardianship of the holy places at Jerusalem; (*c*) Napoleon's personal policy. 4. The war: (*a*) why waged principally in the Crimea; (*b*) difficulties of the siege of Sebastopol. 5. Effect of terms of peace on condition of Christian subjects of sultan.

III. Revolt in India. — 1. Fears of the Indian peoples. 2. End of the East India Company.

IV. Italy. — 1. War of 1859: (*a*) how Cavour put Austria in the wrong; (*b*) Napoleon's share; (*c*) why Napoleon made peace

so promptly. 2. The annexation movement: (*a*) situation in central Italy; (*b*) how Napoleon was forced to countenance annexation; (*c*) Garibaldi's Sicilian expedition; why this led also to annexation of all southern Italy; (*d*) the result — a kingdom of Italy.

V. PRUSSIA. — 1. Rivalry of Prussia and Austria for control of Germany. 2. Conflict of king and parliament in Prussia.

VI. RUSSIA. — 1. Emancipation of the serfs: (*a*) attitude of nobles; (*b*) the land settlement; (*c*) attitude of peasants toward this. 2. Polish revolt and policy of Russian government toward Poland.

VII. NAPOLEON. — 1. Concession of more liberty of discussion. 2. The Mexican expedition.

IMPORTANT DATES

1854. Outbreak of the Crimean war.
1857. Sepoy revolt (connect end of East India Company).
1859. Italian war.
1862. Bismarck made president of Prussian council of ministers.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: same as for Chs. 25, 26.

PARAGRAPHS: —

426. Reform in Sardinia: Stillman, 245–259.

427. Customs Union: see paragraph **398**; Sybel, II., 181–199.

428–429. Balkan Peninsula, its peoples, and the Turks: Seignobos, Ch. 21; for previous history, see paragraphs **62, 171, 206, 288, 404**.

430. Crimean War: Seignobos, 789–791; Phillips, 338–360; Kendall, Nos. 140, 141; Tennyson's *Charge of the Light Brigade*.

431. India: Hunter, Ch. 15; see paragraphs **305, 307**; see also Kendall, 143, 144.

432-434. Italy: plan of Napoleon and Cavour, Walpole, I., 206 ff.; why Napoleon made peace, Walpole, 252 ff.; exchange of central Italy for Nice and Savoy, Stillman, 304 ff.; Garibaldi's attitude, two opinions, Stillman, 319–325; Probyn, 230–235; see further, Cesaresco, *Cavour*.

435. Conflict in Prussia: Henderson, at length; Sybel, II., 503–525; Bismarck's *Autobiography*, I., especially 293–297.

PARAGRAPHS: —

436. Abolition of Serfdom in Russia: Rambaud, III., Ch. 9; Skrine, Ch. 5; for serfdom in other countries, see paragraphs **161, 322, 387.**

437. Mexican Expedition: especially Walpole, II., 70–100; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV., No. 100; Kendall, 145, 146.

Additional Reading: Kinglake, *History of the Crimean War*, 6 vols.; Walpole, *History of Twenty-five Years*, 2 vols.; Sybel's *Founding of the German Empire*, 6 vols.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

REFOUNDING THE GERMAN EMPIRE

438. Prussia's Task. — Prussia soon undertook for Germany what Sardinia had partially accomplished for Italy, — the uniting of the country under strong leadership. The work filled the years from 1863 to 1871. It did not result, as in Italy, in depriving all other rulers of their crowns. Only four or five states were incorporated in Prussia; the rest were united in a federal empire of which Prussia became the controlling member. In both Germany and Italy the principal enemy of union was Austria. German union was not at first opposed by the French, but the empire was proclaimed at the close of a triumphant invasion of France. Meantime the French imperial government was overthrown and a republic took its place. In 1866 and in 1870 Italy added Venetia and Rome to its kingdom and so completed the work begun in 1859.

439. Rivalry of Austria and Prussia. — The struggle between Prussia and Austria for the control of Germany was a game of diplomacy and of war. To play such a game required a clear head and a bold will as well as a strong army. There must also be the self-restraint to rest satisfied when the real object had been gained, without being led by success to make unreasonable demands. Such qualities Bismarck possessed in greater measure than any of his rivals. He appeared to care little for the rights of princes or of states if these stood in the way of the achievement of his purpose, — a united Germany under Prussian leadership. It was to his guidance even more than to the generalship of Moltke, the Prussian chief of staff, that the astonishing fortune of Prussia was due. When the Aus-

trians concluded to abandon their policy of keeping the Confederation weak and to take the lead in reorganizing it, they were checkmated by Bismarck. Their plan was to have a congress of princes meet at Frankfort in August, 1863, over which the Emperor Francis Joseph was to preside. As the friends of Austria were in the majority, Prussia could be voted into a subordinate position. Bismarck persuaded King William to stay away. The congress was a failure, and Francis Joseph's advisers concluded to act with Prussia upon German questions, rather than to oppose Prussia by arrangements with the smaller states. An opportunity to try this policy came soon afterward when the quarrel over the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein broke out afresh.



PRINCE BISMARCK.

Born 1815; died 1898. A member of the Prussian *landtag* in 1847; Prussian representative at the diet of the restored Confederation at Frankfort in 1851. Ambassador at Paris when he was recalled to become head of the Prussian ministry in 1862.

440. The Schleswig-Holstein Affair. — The Danes were willing to abandon Holstein if Schleswig could be incorporated in Denmark. The population of Schleswig was partly German, and, supported by public opinion in Germany, was determined that the duchy should not become Danish. Neither Danes nor Germans would yield. When the German diet sent an army into Holstein in December, 1863, Prussia and Austria decided to act separately and not as members of the Confederation. Their armies overran the duchies and entered Jutland in April, 1864. For a time

it seemed that the matter would be settled by dividing Schleswig, giving the part inhabited by Danes to Denmark, but it proved impossible to find a satisfactory frontier line. If the duchies were freed from Danish rule, this did not mean that they would be governed by a prince of their own. Bismarck believed that as the small states usually opposed schemes for the reorganization of Germany, it would not be wise to add another to their number. No compromise was found; Denmark was forced at the end of a new campaign to sue for peace, and in October the duchies were abandoned to Austria and Prussia as a conquest.

441. Decline of Napoleon's Power. — Napoleon had made a weak attempt to intervene in the Danish affair, but, like his efforts in behalf of the Poles, it had resulted in failure. To recover his lost prestige he tried to strengthen his friendship with the Italians. Since 1849 there had been a French garrison in Rome to protect the pope. Napoleon agreed in 1864 to withdraw his soldiers if Victor Emmanuel would undertake not to attack the papal territory. The pope was indignant at Napoleon's action and in an encyclical denounced all the doctrines which Revolutionary France and particularly Napoleon held dear. This served as an excuse for zealous churchmen in France to attack Napoleon's measures. In self-defence he allowed Duruy, his minister of public instruction, to proclaim that in France primary education should be free and obligatory.

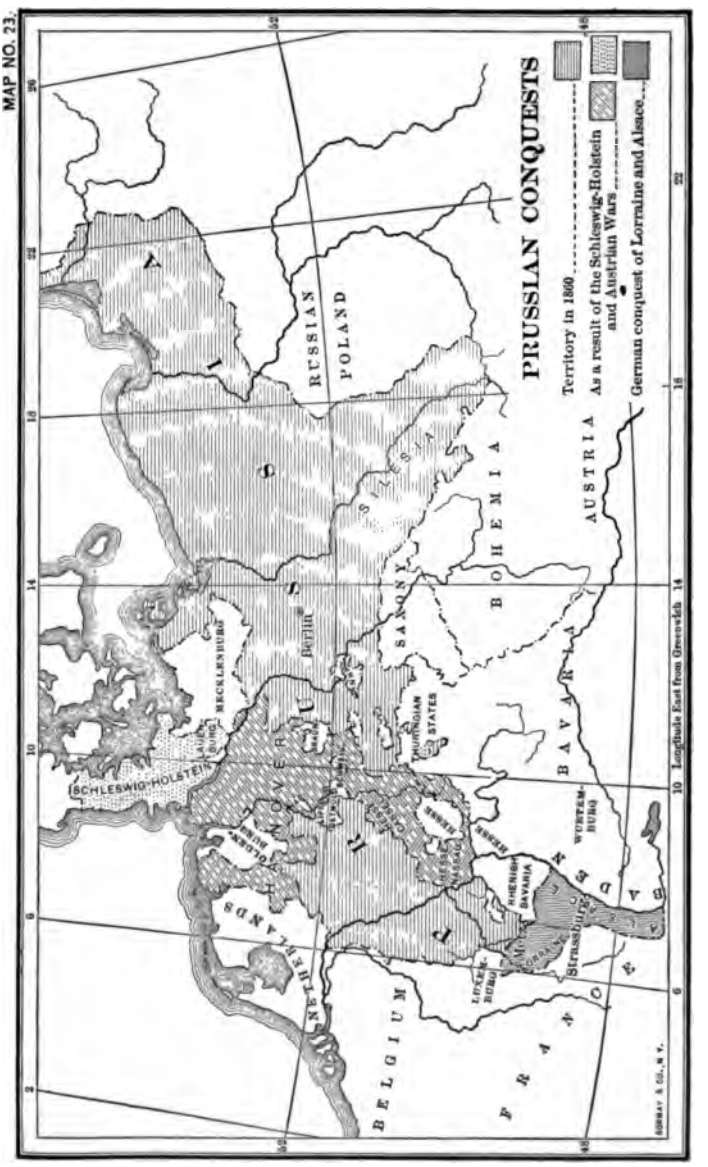
442. Austria and Prussia Quarrel. — The conquered duchies of Schleswig-Holstein became a bone of contention between Austria and Prussia. Joint management failed. King William of Prussia was reluctant to go to war about the question, and so Bismarck, in 1865, agreed to a plan by which Prussia was to control Schleswig and Austria Holstein. When this plan also failed, Bismarck saw a natural ally in the new kingdom of Italy, which desired to take Venetia from Austria. Napoleon warned the Emperor Francis Joseph that rather than be attacked by two foes at once it would be better for him to

yield Venetia to the Italians, but Francis Joseph thought it dishonorable to abandon territory under the Austrian flag. In April, 1866, Bismarck made an agreement with the Italians in accordance with which they were to attack Austria in case war broke out between Prussia and Austria within three months. Napoleon expected that the struggle would be so severe that his mediation would be necessary and he could take as his reward territory along the Rhine. Unfortunately for him, just at this time his Mexican expedition ended ignominiously, for he was obliged by the threatening attitude of the United States to evacuate Mexico and to leave the Emperor Maximilian to his fate.

443. Austro-Prussian War. — In the quarrel about the duchies Austria won the sympathy of the other German states, because the Austrian governor of Holstein seemed to favor those who demanded that the duchies should be independent. Bismarck saw that the time for negotiation was ended, and he persuaded King William to declare that Austria had broken her agreement and to order Prussian troops into Holstein. Austria appealed to the federal diet, and on June 14 the diet voted to make war upon Prussia. Prussia replied by declaring the Confederation at an end and announcing her intention to reorganize it with a parliament chosen by the people. The Prussian army was ready to move upon its enemies without delay. Rapidity of action was necessary, for Prussia had to face not only Austria, but Hanover in the west, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden in the south, and Saxony on the Bohemian frontier. Within eleven days one army had captured the Hanoverian troops, while the main body of the Prussian forces overran Saxony and invaded Bohemia. Still another army advanced into South Germany to keep these states from coöperating with Austria. The Italians, according to their agreement, attacked the Austrians in Venetia. The decisive battle of the war was fought at Sadowa or Königgrätz, July 3, and ended in a disastrous defeat for the Austrians. Although an Austrian army had defeated the Italians, the

advance of the Prussians toward Vienna made peace necessary. Bismarck was anxious to come to terms with Austria for fear that Napoleon might intervene and the Prussian army might not be able to withstand a new foe. In arranging the terms Bismarck had a sharp controversy with King William, who wished to annex Austrian Silesia, a strip on the Bohemian frontier, and the kingdom of Saxony as well as Hanover and Hesse-Cassel. Bismarck did not wish to take any Austrian territory nor even Saxony. As he afterward said, he wished "in view of our subsequent relations with Austria, as far as possible to avoid cause for mortifying reminiscences, if it could be managed without prejudice to our German policy." Only through the aid of the Crown Prince Frederick could he bring King William to agree to a plan of peace, which the king called "disgraceful." The terms finally arranged at Prague in August were the withdrawal of Austria from German affairs, the formation of a North German Confederation composed of the states north of the river Main, the annexation to Prussia of Schleswig-Holstein, of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and the city of Frankfort. Bismarck declared that this seizure of states was based on "the right of the German nation to exist, to breathe, to unite," and added that "it is the right and duty of Prussia to give Germany the condition of things necessary for her existence." Italy's share in the victory was Venetia, won really by Prussian victories, since both the army and fleet of the Italians had been defeated by Austria. When Napoleon demanded some of the lands west of the Rhine, Bismarck flatly refused.

444. North German Confederation. — Important political changes followed the war. This was especially true in Germany. Bismarck's plan for the North German Confederation was essentially the same which he had submitted to the Frankfort diet before the war and which had been regarded as a manœuvre to gain friends. It provided for a union in which the federal interests and the power to guard them, — that is, the right to declare war and make peace, to negotiate treaties,


MAP NO. 23.
PRUSSIAN CONQUESTS
Territory in 1866
As a result of the Schleswig-Holstein and Austrian Wars
German conquest of Lorraine and Alsace
RUSSIAN POLAND
AUSTRIA
BOHEMIA
SILESIA
SAXONY
BAVARIA
BELGIUM
FRANCE
NETHERLANDS
SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN
MECKLENBURG
Berlin
HANOVER
HESSE-NASSAU
RHENISH BAVARIA
WURTEMBURG
LUXEMBURG
Longitude East from Greenwich
GRAY & CO., N.Y.

to command the army and navy, — was intrusted to the king of Prussia, the leading state. The other affairs of the federation were managed by a federal council, or *Bundesrath*, and a popularly elected assembly, or *Reichstag*. The king acted through his chosen chancellor, who presided over the federal council and who represented the federal government in the Reichstag. There was no ministry which, as in England, might be overthrown by the votes of a hostile majority in the popular assembly. The only check upon the government left to the Reichstag was its right to refuse to pass bills. The fear that even so small a power might jeopardize the military safety of the confederation led Bismarck to demand that the army expenditures be voted for a term of five years. The centre of power lay in the Bundesrath, or council of diplomats, representing the states. Each representative must follow his instructions. Prussia sent seventeen out of the total of forty-three, and could always control enough other states to have a majority in her favor. The only states not included in the confederation were Hesse-Darmstadt, Baden, Würtemberg, and Bavaria. Baden would have been glad to join, but there was strong opposition in Würtemberg and Bavaria. Bismarck endeavored to beguile these reluctant states by organizing a customs parliament which should be the Reichstag with additional members from the southern states, and which should have power to regulate the affairs of the customs union, hitherto regulated by treaty. He hoped the southern members, when once members of such an assembly, would not hesitate to transform it into an enlarged Reichstag, competent to discuss politics as well as tariffs. He also made treaties of alliance with the South German states, so that in case of war all Germany would be united. These treaties remained secret, and the French still cherished the delusion that there would grow up in the south another federation which would counterbalance the North German Confederation.

445. Austria-Hungary. — Austria had been taught by the disasters of 1859 and 1866 that the use she had made of her

triumph over the revolutionists of 1848 in Hungary, Italy, and Germany had been unwise. Some attempt to discover a remedy was made in 1860, but this, by compelling the Hungarians to send representatives to an imperial parliament at Vienna, simply aroused protests. The emperor had already resumed negotiations with the Hungarians, but the war of 1866 brought them to a standstill. A year later a compromise was completed, according to which the dominions of Francis Joseph were divided into two parts, Austria, including seventeen provinces, and Hungary, including Croatia, Slavonia, and Transylvania. He was to be emperor of Austria and apostolic king of Hungary. Each part was to have its own parliament, with responsible ministries. For the interests common to both there were to be three imperial ministries, — foreign affairs, war, and finance. Commercial relations, tariffs, currency, and the like were to be settled by agreement between the two. To control the expenditure of money set aside for common purposes, two delegations, each selected by its own parliament, were to negotiate at Vienna with each other in writing. Such machinery of government was cumbersome, but it ended the struggle between Austria and Hungary. The great force which worked for coöperation, if not for union, was the feeling of the different peoples grouped about the Emperor Francis Joseph that singly they would be of slight importance in European affairs while together they were one of the Great Powers.

446. A New System for France. — The Emperor Napoleon sought a stronger support in the French nation in order to regain the ground lost since 1861. From 1866 to 1870 he made one concession after another, until finally he had so changed the constitution that France had a parliamentary system, with responsible ministers. France had little opportunity to try the new plan, for it had been in effect only three months when the war broke out during which the empire collapsed.

447. The Enemies of Peace in France. — Napoleon had not abandoned his intention to extend the French territory toward

the Rhine. He negotiated with the king of Holland for Luxemburg, but after a transfer was agreed upon it was stopped by Prussia, supported by German public opinion. A plan to give Luxemburg to Belgium and to allow France to annex a strip of Belgian territory also fell through. While the Luxemburg affair was under discussion, Bismarck published the military agreements with the South German states. Some of Napoleon's advisers constantly urged him to make war upon Prussia to check her power before it was too late. The Empress Eugénie and the clerical party wished to humble the great northern Protestant state, and put Germany once more in the hands of the Catholics. Napoleon hoped that in such a war he might be assisted by Austria and by Italy. But at this time Italian sentiment was aroused against him. Garibaldi had attempted, in 1867, to revolutionize Rome as he had Sicily in 1860. Although Victor Emmanuel had promised to defend papal territory, Napoleon sent a force to Rome which defeated Garibaldi's little army. The French general telegraphed back that the *chassepots*, the new French breech-loading rifles, "worked splendidly." In the assembly at Paris Napoleon's minister declared that the Italians should *never* enter Rome. A French garrison was, accordingly, left there. After such words and such acts the Italians could not be expected to love the French nor to rush to Napoleon's aid. In Austria also it was only a small group at the imperial court which favored an alliance with France for a war of revenge.

448. War between France and Germany. — Napoleon was personally opposed to the war policy, but his health was feeble and he could not resist the clamors of the empress and his courtiers. In July, 1870, a pretext was found in a misunderstanding over the candidature for the Spanish throne. Queen Isabella had been overthrown by revolution, in 1868, and the Spaniards had decided to offer the crown to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Although he was a distant relative of King William of Prussia, his candidacy was not part of a Prussian scheme to secure influence in Spain. The French,

especially the Parisians, were indignant that the country which Louis XIV. had fought a bloody war to control, and which had ever since been ruled by a French house, should have a Hohenzollern for its king. Even after Prince Leopold declined, the French ministry, seeking to win a bloodless victory over the hated rival, demanded, July 13, that King William agree that never again should such a candidacy be proposed. King William refused, and Bismarck telegraphed this refusal to all the Prussian embassies in Europe, and communicated it to the newspapers. It sounded like a challenge; it acted, as Bismarck said it would, "like a red rag, upon the Gallic bull." July 19, the French government declared war, and cries of "On to Berlin" were heard in the streets of Paris. Scarcely a voice save that of Thiers was raised to check this heedless folly.



COUNT VON MOLTKE.

Born 1800; died 1891. Became chief of the Prussian general staff in 1858. Made a field-marshal in 1871.

449. Sedan. — Napoleon's only chance of success lay in an immediate invasion of South Germany. If he could gain a foothold there, he might shake the alliance between the South German states and the North German Confederation, and he would give Austria and Italy a chance to come to his assistance. If he should fail at the outset he could not expect them to abandon their neutrality, especially since the tsar had intimated that unless Austria remained neutral he should not hold aloof. Such dreams were rudely dispelled by the discovery that the French armies could not be made ready for action before the Ger-

mans had gathered their vastly superior forces along the northeastern frontier. The Germans followed a plan which Moltke had drawn up when France and Prussia were brought to the verge of war by the Luxemburg question. Within eighteen days three armies were ready to strike, using the middle Rhine as a base of operations. By tremendous blows to right and left, delivered simultaneously, the French were driven back upon Metz and Chalons. The army under Bazaine, which should have retreated to Verdun, was held at Metz by three successive battles, culminating in the great battle of Gravelotte, August 18. When the Chalons army, under the command of MacMahon, attempted to march to the relief of Bazaine, it was driven northward, defeated, and compelled to surrender at Sedan, September 1. With this army Napoleon himself was captured. France had now no organized army of regular troops. The defeat of Sedan compelled the French to withdraw their garrison from Rome, which was immediately occupied by the troops of Victor Emmanuel, in spite of the resistance of the pope, Pius IX. In this way the unification of Italy was completed.

450. The Republic Defends France. — September 4, as soon as the news of Sedan reached Paris, a republic was proclaimed and a Government of National Defence organized. Since the weight of the German attack must soon fall upon Paris, the new government was made up of Paris deputies to the legislature, presided over by General Trochu, military governor of the city. It had scarcely been organized before the German army began the siege. In order that it might not be merely a Paris government a delegation had been sent to Tours to control the provinces, especially in the south, which had not suffered from invasion. In October, Gambetta, a popular republican orator, escaped from Paris in a balloon and by his fiery addresses aroused the country to a frenzy of resistance. The plan was to gather new armies for the relief of Paris or to throw them across the German line of communication and compel the Germans to withdraw. The traitorous conduct of Bazaine, who negotiated with the Germans for the restoration of the empire

instead of attempting to force his way out of Metz, sacrificed an army of one hundred and seventy thousand, and released for further operations the Germans who were besieging him. Paris endured the siege until the end of January, when supplies were exhausted. Attempts to relieve the city had failed and the new armies had been defeated. The Government of National Defence agreed, January 28, to an armistice which should give an opportunity for the meeting of a national assembly at Bordeaux to arrange terms of peace. The assembly chose Thiers chief of the government which was to supersede the Government of National Defence. So far as peace was concerned his task was to soften the terms which Bismarck, forced by the military party, had made far more harsh than the terms granted to Austria in 1866. They were the cession to Germany of Alsace and the eastern part of Lorraine, including Metz, together with the payment of an indemnity of one billion dollars. The assembly immediately accepted these as the best which Thiers could obtain, in order to spare Paris a long occupation by the Germans who had entered the city on March 1. They withdrew on March 3.



LOUIS ADOLPHE THIERS.

Born at Marseilles, 1797; died near Paris, 1877. Came to Paris as a journalist in 1821. Made prime minister by Louis Philippe in 1836 and again in 1840. His *History of the French Revolution* completed in 1827; *History of the Consulate and the Empire* in 1860.

451. The Commune of 1871. — Although the Government of National Defence had carried on the war to the bitter end, many of the Paris leaders cried out against the surrender and the terms of peace. They also declared that the Bordeaux assembly was plotting to overthrow the republic. Unfortunately the national guards had not been disarmed when the armistice was made and the more violent among them organized resistance

against the Thiers government. The result was an insurrectionary government called the *Commune*, which ruled the city from March 18 until overthrown by the national troops, May 27. Maddened by the struggle, the revolutionists set on fire many of the public buildings, the Tuileries, the Louvre, the Hotel de Ville, and the Palais de Justice. The Tuileries and the Hotel de Ville were totally destroyed.



WILLIAM I.

Born, 1797; died, 1888. King of Prussia after 1861, German emperor after 1871. As a young man he fought in the campaigns of 1814 and 1815 against Napoleon I.

452. The New German Empire. — After the first victories over France, the German patriots realized that now was the opportunity to found the empire struggled for in 1848. In November the South German states had joined the North German Confederation. Many of the German leaders wished to change this confederation into an empire, without changing its real character. Prussia, through her army and the victories of 1866, controlled her sister states. The question was whether this control should be symbolized or recognized by conferring the imperial title upon the king of Prussia. Curiously enough, King William was as much opposed to this proposal as the kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg. He was proud of the glories which clustered about his title as king; they feared that their titles, scarcely a century old, would become less significant. Bismarck convinced them all of the necessity of the step, and, on January 18, in the famous hall of mirrors of the old palace of Louis XIV. at Versailles, William was saluted by the princes of Germany as their emperor. The work of 1866 was completed.

SUMMARY

I. Prussia and Austria. — 1. Bismarck's qualities as a leader. 2. Why the king of Prussia did not attend the congress of princes. 3. The Schleswig-Holstein affair: (*a*) cause of the trouble; (*b*) conduct of Austria and Prussia; (*c*) why Napoleon's influence was waning; (*d*) compromise between Austria and Prussia. 4. Austro-Prussian war: (*a*) reason for Prussia's alliance with Italy; (*b*) dangerous situation of Prussia; (*c*) reasons for Prussia's success; (*d*) peace policy of Bismarck. 5. Reorganization of Germany: (*a*) annexations to Prussia; (*b*) North German Confederation; (*c*) the real power in the new government. 6. Austria's settlement with Hungary.

II. Prussia and France. — 1. Napoleon concedes parliamentary government in France. 2. French desire to annex territory in the north and east. 3. French loss of Italian friendship. 4. Franco-Prussian war: (*a*) occasion; (*b*) reason for French defeat; (*c*) overthrow of the empire; (*d*) efforts of the republic to defend France; (*e*) terms of peace. 5. What was the *commune*? 6. A new German empire: (*a*) relation to North German Confederation; (*b*) proclamation of King William as emperor.

IMPORTANT DATES

1864. Schleswig-Holstein war.
1866. Austro-Prussian war.
1867. Compromise between Austria and Hungary.
1870. Franco-Prussian war: September 4, proclamation of a republic in France.
1871. January 18. Proclamation of William I. as emperor of the new German empire.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: see Chs. 25, 26.

Paragraphs: —

439. Prussia and Austria: Henderson, II., Ch. 9; at length, Sybel, II., 604–628.

440–442. Schleswig-Holstein Affair: from different points of view, Beust, *Memoirs;* Müller, 300–318; Seignobos, 464–469; Walpole, I., 407–453.

PARAGRAPHS: —

441. Beginnings of the Liberal Empire: Seignobos, 176–180.

443. Preliminaries of Nikolsburg: Phillips, 439–444; see especially Bismarck, *Autobiography*, II., 47–53.

444. North German Confederation: Lowell, I., 240 ff. Compare Confederation of 1815, paragraph **398**, Rhenish Confederation, paragraph **381**, and Holy Roman Empire, paragraphs **155**, **156**, **248**, **250**, **323**.

445. Austria-Hungary: Lowell, II., 132, 136, Ch. 10.

446–447. Liberal Empire in France: Seignobos, 180 ff.; documents in Anderson, No. 117.

448. Bourbon Kingship in Spain: Spanish Affairs, Phillips, 462–463; see paragraphs **290**, **295**.

449. Franco-Prussian War: Ems despatch, Anderson, No. 121; Henderson, Ch. 10.

450. Peace and the French Republic: at length, Anderson, Nos. 122–125; Hanotaux, I.

451. The Commune: Seignobos, 189–194; Anderson, No. 126.

452. The Empire in Germany: negotiations, Phillips, 482–483; Müller, 460–465; growth of Prussia from Northmark to control of Germany, see paragraphs **100**, **131**, **156**, **202**, **291**, **322**, **395**.

Additional Reading: Hanotaux, *Contemporary France*, I.; Washburne, *Recollections of a Minister in France*, 2 vols.; *Memoirs of Beust*, 2 vols.

CHAPTER XXIX.

AFTER THE GREAT NATIONAL WARS

453. 1871–1890. — After the great national wars came a period of reorganization for the three or four countries especially involved. Austria had begun this work in 1866. France undertook it in 1871. The Germans had founded their empire, but to make the union effective was the work of the next two decades. In Italy, King Victor Emmanuel said to parliament, "The country is free and united, our task is to render her great and happy." England had not been drawn into these conflicts, but she undertook many reforms, and was confronted by the demand of the Irish for Home Rule.

454. Armed Peace. — After 1871 the Prussian leaders showed that they had been fighting for the union of Germany, and that, unlike the first Napoleon, they did not intend to use their newly won power to make further conquests. It is true that the terms of peace which they granted to France were so harsh that they were forced to remain on guard against French attempts to win back the lost provinces. Consequently the peace which in western Europe outlasted the century was an armed peace, almost as burdensome as war. Fortunately for Germany, the peace which Bismarck made with Austria in 1866 had left no such bitter memories, so that the Emperor William and the Emperor Francis Joseph quickly came to an understanding. When the tsar joined in this agreement, in 1872, it was called the League of the Three Emperors. The most important part for Germany was a guarantee of the existing European frontiers.

455. Prussia and the Church. — For several years Prussia was engaged in a serious quarrel with the Catholic Church. It was called the *Kulturkampf*, or the fight for civilization, because Bismarck's supporters believed that the Catholic leaders were trying to bring back the days when the Church was stronger than the State, and learning was subject to the decrees of councils or the terrors of the Inquisition. It grew out of an attempt of the bishops to compel the acceptance among their priests and in their universities of the doctrine of papal infallibility proclaimed at the Vatican council in 1870. When those who called themselves "Old Catholics" resisted and were deprived by the bishops of their positions, the Prussian government interfered through the "May Laws," so called because the first of them were adopted in May, 1873. The government was almost as severe as Napoleon I. had been in his management of the Catholic clergy. The result was that nearly all the Prussian bishoprics became vacant, and over a thousand parishes were without priests. Even the Protestants began to think that rights of conscience were being set at nought, and for lack of supporters the government was obliged to compromise. Of the May Laws several important provisions remained, — the inspection of the schools by State officials instead of by the clergy, the obligation in marriage of a contract before the civil magistrate, even if there was also a religious ceremony, and the recording by the magistrates of births, marriages, and deaths, a duty previously intrusted to the clergy.

456. Imperial Laws. — Before the *Kulturkampf* was ended, the empire was slowly taking up tasks which had belonged to the different states, and accustoming the people to look to it as something more than a union against foreigners. In 1873 the constitution was amended so that the Reichstag might pass laws upon all subjects, civil as well as criminal. In this way legislation which in the United States has been left for the individual states was undertaken in Germany by the federal or imperial government. A new gold currency was provided,

on the face of which was stamped the emperor's figure, and on the back the imperial arms.

457. France after the War. — To the French the war had left a task almost crushing. The northern departments were occupied by the victorious Germans, who would not withdraw their army of occupation until the war indemnity, more than twice the annual income of the government, should be paid. How long the government would endure no one knew, nor were the people agreed upon what should take its place. In the assembly elected to ratify the treaty of peace, there were more monarchists than republicans, but even the monarchists could not decide which to restore, — the count of Chambord, the grandson of Charles X., or the count of Paris, the grandson of Louis Philippe. Outside the assembly the people were more and more in favor of a republic. In this time of perplexity Thiers, who remained at the head of the government, realized that the first need was to pay the Germans and to put an end to their armed occupation. French citizens were ready to loan their money, but the difficulty was to transfer such a vast sum to Germany without depriving the country of most of its stock of gold and silver and paralyzing industry and trade. The plans of Thiers were so wise that within two years the indemnity had been paid without seriously disturbing business. In order not to send the money directly from France he arranged with foreign bankers for bills of exchange upon Berlin. Many of these were paid for by foreign subscriptions to French loans, others by French exports. The government was able also to grant money to cities and districts which had suffered from the ravages of war, and to pay for a reorganization of the army on the system of universal service. But all this necessitated the levy of new taxes and raised the annual budget of expenditure from four hundred to six hundred million dollars.

458. A New French Constitution. — The French political leaders gave Thiers scarcely time to complete these arrangements before their quarrels drove him from office. He had

regarded the republic as the form of government which divided Frenchmen the least. After he retired in May, 1873, the monarchists made a compromise among themselves, according to which the count of Chambord was to be made king, and, since he had no children, his successor was to be the count of Paris. They had actually gone so far as to prepare for the formal entry of the new king, when a disagreement over the flag upset the arrangement. The count of Chambord felt in honor bound to keep the white banner of old France, which his exiled grandfather had intrusted to him. He looked upon the tricolor as the flag of the Revolution. The Orleanists refused to abandon the tricolor. In 1875 it became impossible to resist the demand that the republic should be organized, but the new constitution was so planned that the president, now Marshal MacMahon, could be replaced by a king, if the monarchists were ever strong enough to bring about such a change. Besides the president, there were a senate and a chamber of deputies. One-fourth of the senators were to be chosen for life by the assembly, and the rest by electoral colleges in each department. The government was to be carried on as in England by a council of ministers which should remain in office only so long as they were supported by majorities in the senate and in the chamber of deputies. It was also decided that the president should be elected at a joint meeting of the two houses. The first chamber of deputies contained over twice as many republicans as monarchists, but it was not until three years later that the republicans gained a majority in the senate.

459. A New Campaign. — With the assistance of President MacMahon in 1877, the monarchists made a desperate effort to regain complete control. They formed a ministry opposed to the wishes of the majority in the chamber of deputies and prepared for new elections, replacing local officers who favored the republic by men who would work for the election of deputies devoted to the monarchy. This conspiracy, called "the Sixteenth of May," failed, for by the new elections the republicans maintained their large majority in the chamber. In

1879 MacMahon resigned, and Grévy, a stanch republican, was chosen president.

460. Italy. — In completing its union Italy had despoiled the papacy of territories which it had held for centuries. Had the pope been an ordinary monarch this would have been of little importance. But, he was the head of a great Church, to which several European peoples, besides the Italians, belonged, and it was necessary to protect his liberty of action or else his spiritual independence might be questioned. This the Italian government attempted to accomplish by the Law of Guarantees. The pope, like the king of Italy, was to be treated as inviolable, government officials were not to enter his palaces, and as an independent sovereign he might receive ambassadors from foreign states. The government was also to pay him an annuity of six hundred thousand dollars. This plan was offensive to the pope, who regarded himself as a prisoner within the Vatican palace, and who declined to accept the proffered annuity. Catholics were forbidden to take part in national politics. The Italians feared for a time that France or Austria might try to restore the pope's territories by force. To guard against this they reorganized their army on the Prussian plan and erected strong fortifications about Rome. France, under the influence of the monarchists, menaced Italy more than Austria. As early as 1873, the Emperor Francis Joseph showed his desire to live at peace with Italy. In consequence Victor Emmanuel's relations with Austria and Germany became more cordial than with France.

461. Reform in England. — During this period the English peacefully carried forward reforms which made the country more and more democratic and gave to laboring people both on the farms and in the shops better means of guarding their rights. In 1867 the right to vote had been granted to almost all householders. The voters were now protected from intimidation by the adoption of the secret ballot, and still later by severe laws against bribery. The right to form trade-unions and to manage strikes was extended, so that no act which was

innocent in an individual became criminal merely because it was done by a group of strikers. Education was made free, and children were compelled to attend schools. Children under ten could not be employed in factories, and until the age of fourteen they must divide their time between the school and the factory. The practice in the country districts of enclosing the common lands and forests, depriving the poor of their rights of pasture and the whole community of the enjoyment of large natural playgrounds, was stopped. Some of these things were done by the Liberals and some by the Conservatives or Tories. On the whole the Liberals were still in favor of *laissez faire*, or letting things take their own course, and it was from the Conservatives that the trade-unions gained their new law. In Ireland, however, it was the Liberals, under Gladstone's leadership, who tried to put an end to discontent by bettering the condition of the people. Gladstone first disestablished, that is, changed into a private organization, the Irish Church, which was Protestant like the English Church, in spite of the fact that four-fifths of the Irish were Catholics. His Land Act was an attempt to prevent tenants being driven from their lands without compensation for the improvements which they had made.

462. Eastern Question. — After 1875 the attention of Europeans was fixed upon the Turkish empire. The withdrawal of Greece, Servia, and Rumania from direct administration by Turkish officers had not taught the Turks how to make their Christian subjects more contented, or to check the desire for national independence. Most of these subjects were Slavs and were sure of the sympathy of Servia and Montenegro, as well as of Russia. Driven by their sense of wrong, their hatred of Turkish masters, and their hopes of freedom, they rose throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1875. Austria was afraid lest the Serbs of these provinces should unite with the Serbs in Servia to form a Great Servia, and tried to settle the trouble by urging reforms upon the Turkish government. Similar demands were made by the other Powers. It was difficult to settle

the matter by negotiation, first, because no one trusted Turkish promises, and, second, because the different Powers were more eager to make gains for themselves than to assist the revolted provinces to freedom. Austria, driven out of Germany in 1866, had turned her face toward the east and hoped some day to extend her territory to Salonica on the Grecian Sea. By the opening of the Suez Canal in 1867 the route to India was



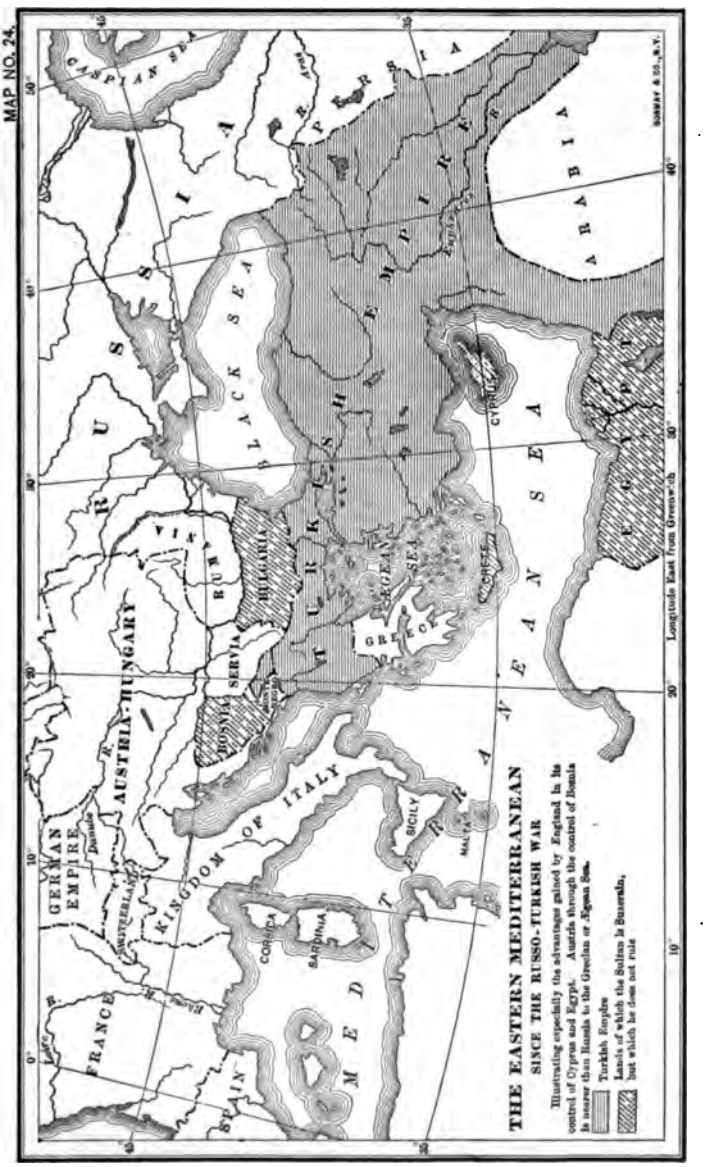
THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The Speaker's chair, with the Ministerial benches at his right and the Opposition benches at his left.

shortened, and England feared any movement of the Russians toward the eastern Mediterranean or on the borders of Persia. Russia disclaimed any intention to occupy Constantinople or to control the Dardanelles, but it was hard for either Austria or England to believe such promises, because the Russians, ever since the time of Peter the Great, had been working to extend their territory in that direction. While the negotiations were going on slowly the Bulgarians made a feeble attempt to follow

the example of their neighbors in Bosnia and Herzegovina. To crush them the Turks let loose upon the province a host of savage soldiers who slaughtered peaceful inhabitants by the thousand. Aroused by these "atrocities," the English people forced their government to abandon its intention of supporting the Turks as in 1854. Servia and Montenegro declared war upon Turkey. This was followed by a Russian declaration of war in the spring of 1877.

463. Russo-Turkish War. — The invasion of the Turkish empire proved more difficult than the Russians had anticipated. For a long time they were held in check before the fortifications of Plevna, and not until January, 1878, did they force the Turks at Adrianople to negotiate for peace. The treaty of San Stefano, signed soon afterward, acknowledged the independence of tributary states like Rumania, Servia, and Montenegro; united the Bulgarians north and south of the Balkans, together with a part of Macedonia, including ports like Salonica on the Grecian Sea, into a self-governing principality, merely tributary to the sultan; and gave Russia several towns in eastern Asia Minor, promising also a large war indemnity. This treaty was offensive to both the Austrians and the English, although it suited the needs of the Christian peoples of the Turkish empire. Austria and England began to arm. Russia, after her struggle with Turkey, was too exhausted to face new foes and consented to submit the settlement to a congress of representatives of the Powers at Berlin. Before the congress met in June, 1878, England settled her differences with Russia. She also accepted from Turkey the island of Cyprus, promising the Turks aid in case the Russians attempted to encroach further upon Turkish territory in Asia. At the congress the Bulgaria which Russia had planned was divided into three parts, only the northern part to become a self-governing principality. The territory, called East Rumelia, immediately south of the Balkans, was to be governed by a prince appointed by the Turks, and Macedonia was to remain a portion of the Turkish empire. To


MAP NO. 24.
THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN
SINCE THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR
Illustrating especially the advantages gained by England in the control of Cyprus and Egypt. Austria through the control of Bosnia is nearer than Russia to the Grecian or Ægean Sea.
Turkish Empire
Lands of which the Sultan is Suzerain, but which he does not rule
RUSSIA
TURKISH EMPIRE
ARABIA
EGYPT
CYPRUS
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
GERMAN EMPIRE
FRANCE
SPAIN
ITALY
KINGDOM OF ITALY
SICILY
CORSICA
SARDINIA
MALTA
GREECE
BULGARIA
SERVIA
BOSNIA
RUMANIA
SWITZERLAND
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Longitude East from Greenwich

Austria was given the task of maintaining order in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which practically meant that she could annex those lands. The independence of Servia and Rumania was recognized.

464. Russian Nihilism. — After the close of the war the Russian government was perplexed and even terrified by an outburst of rebellion at home. Liberal Russians had hoped that the Tsar Alexander II. would follow the emancipation of the serfs by a reform in the system of government which should give his subjects more voice in the management of their affairs. Several years passed, and nothing was accomplished. Eager hopes gave way to chagrin or to a resolution to overthrow the despotic system by force. A party was secretly organized which was nicknamed the Nihilists. The members professed to believe that man was too much governed, and that, if left to himself, he would be happy, peaceful, and would never disturb his neighbor in order to improve his own fortunes. Some men joined the party simply in order through it to frighten the tsar into changing the government. So well were the secrets of the party kept that, though prominent officials were murdered, the police had the greatest difficulty in detecting the conspirators. Finally the Nihilists condemned the tsar to death. The government attempted to avenge the murders that were committed by placing the empire practically under military rule. This plan failed, and the tsar was about to gather an assembly of notables to advise with him in the government when, in March, 1881, he was assassinated. By this time nearly all the leaders of the Nihilists were dead or exiled to Siberia, and Alexander III. succeeded in restoring order. Russia not only did not become more liberal, she began the slow process of compelling the outlying states like Finland, Lithuania, and Livonia to abandon their national habits and become more thoroughly Russian.

465. Triple and Dual Alliances. — After the differences between England and Russia in regard to Turkey were settled, the two countries were brought to the verge of war in central

Asia. The Russians in 1878, thinking war with England inevitable, made an alliance with the ameer of Afghanistan. In order to keep a country so near to India from falling under Russian control, the English drove this ameer from the throne and placed upon it one whom they could control. Upon European alliances, also, the Russo-Turkish war had an important influence. The Russians had been disappointed in the attitude of Germany during the Berlin Congress. Austria, without striking a blow, had been brought nearer Constantinople than Russia herself. Bismarck had thought that peace would be made more secure if influence in the East were divided between the two. When he found that Russia deeply resented his action, he advised the Emperor William to make a treaty for mutual protection with the Emperor Francis Joseph. This was done in 1879. Italy soon entered this union and it became the Triple Alliance, the aim of which was to guard each state from its special antagonists. Some years later, to counterbalance this League of Peace, a similar League, or Dual Alliance, was made by Russia and France.

466. England in Egypt. — Shortly after the close of the Russo-Turkish war, England gained so secure a position in the eastern Mediterranean that her fears of Russia steadily decreased. The khedive of Egypt had become heavily indebted to European bankers, and France and England had taken control of his finances. A party of Egyptian officers raised the cry of "Egypt for the Egyptians," gained control of the army and the khedive in April, 1882, and drove away the French and English ministers. France declined to act, but England resolved to restore order. Meanwhile the Egyptians had massacred many foreigners in Alexandria. The English marched upon Cairo, captured the leaders of the uprising, and undertook to manage the affairs of the khedive, assuring the French that they would withdraw as soon as order was fully reëstablished. The control of Egypt was especially important, for it carried with it the guardianship of the Suez Canal, the new route to India. Another thing that allayed English

fears of Russia was the fact that the Bulgarians, instead of putting themselves under the leadership of their Russian liberators, showed a sturdy desire to manage their own affairs. They even went so far as to annex East Rumelia to Bulgaria, in defiance of the treaty of Berlin.

467. German Politics. — In Germany Bismarck had relied chiefly upon the support of the National Liberals. In 1878 he began to turn toward the Conservatives because he was planning measures distasteful to the Liberals. He wished to give the empire a revenue which would put an end to the need of calling upon the separate states for heavy contributions toward imperial expenditures. Such a revenue must be obtained by raising the customs duties, which, as under the old customs union, remained very low. He also wished to protect the farmers and manufacturers against American and Russian wheat and against English manufactures. The duties which the Reichstag voted rapidly increased the imperial revenue until comparatively little had to be asked of the states. In 1884 Bismarck, to find new outlets for German manufactures, raised the German flag over parts of Africa unclaimed by other countries and over several of the South Sea islands. This led to a scramble for African lands, in which England and France took part, so that by 1890 no portion of African soil remained unpartitioned. Another reason why Bismarck abandoned the Liberals was his determination to check the socialists, whose numbers were rapidly increasing, partly because of the growing wealth and power of the capitalists and partly because many men were disappointed that Germany seemed to be so like an intrenched camp, while the savings of the people were spent upon soldiers and guns. The Reichstag first deprived the socialists of the right to meet or to publish their newspapers. Bismarck thought a more effective means of checking their influence would be to care for the welfare of the working people, as he believed a Christian state should do. With this aim he persuaded the Reichstag to make provisions, in accordance with which the working people were insured against

sickness, accident in the mines or factories, and against inability to support themselves in old age. The laws were not merely passed; they were enforced. The condition of the poorer people was made less burdensome; but the socialists and their party, called the Social Democrats, continued to grow. Finally the special laws against their meetings or their writings were repealed. The old emperor had died in 1888, and had been succeeded, after the brief reign of his son Frederick III., by his grandson William II. This prince determined, like Louis XIV., to be his own minister, and in 1890 dismissed Bismarck.

468. France and England. — France also had political struggles, chiefly against some of the more ambitious Catholic clergy who disliked the republic and endeavored to control the youth through the Church schools. In 1888 the company which had attempted to build a canal through the Isthmus of Panama failed, covering many prominent politicians with disgrace, because they had sold to the company laws giving it special advantages. Thousands of stockholders lost all their savings. In England the reforms begun earlier were carried forward, but the question which excited the country most was Gladstone's proposal, in 1886, to give Home Rule to Ireland, that is to reëstablish a parliament at Dublin which should manage the affairs of Ireland, except the army and the customs duties. Since no Irish members were to be sent to the British parliament, Ireland would be almost as separate from England as Hungary from Austria. Many of Gladstone's own followers believed that if the Irish were granted such a parliament, they would use it to bring about a complete separation from England. These men seceded from the Liberals and formed a new party called the Liberal Unionists. Gladstone did not have enough followers left, including the Irish members, to carry through his measure. His defeat led him to appeal to the country by ordering a new election of members. The fear of the English that the Irish would prove disloyal worked against him in the campaign. His foreign

policy had also been disliked. In 1877, before he became prime minister, the government had annexed the South African Republic. After three years the Boers tried to reëstablish their independence. It fell to Gladstone to put down their insurrection. Instead of this he acknowledged their independence, retaining for England only a shadowy control over them. The result was his defeat. The Conservatives, under Lord Salisbury, established greater local self-government in the English counties, with the vague notion of some day doing the same for Ireland. In 1887 Queen Victoria's jubilee, or the fiftieth anniversary of her reign, was celebrated, and as delegates came from British lands all over the world, men realized more clearly that a Greater Britain had been growing up, and they began to plan as much for the welfare of the broad empire as for the older three kingdoms.

SUMMARY

I. Problems of Germany, France, Italy, England. — 1. Germany: (*a*) peace policy of Bismarck; (*b*) reasons for his conflict with the Church and its results; (*c*) imperial legislation. 2. France: (*a*) paying the indemnity to Germany; (*b*) efforts to restore the monarchy; (*c*) Thiers driven from office; (*d*) organizing the new republic; (*e*) the Sixteenth of May. 3. Italy: (*a*) the relations of State and Church; (*b*) danger of attack by France. 4. England: (*a*) ballot reform, factory laws, greater freedom of combination among workingmen; (*b*) attempts to settle the Irish question.

II. The Eastern Question again. — 1. Insurrections in the Turkish empire. 2. Reasons why the question could not be settled by negotiation. 3. The Russo-Turkish war: (*a*) settlement proposed at San Stefano; (*b*) objections of England and Austria; (*c*) settlement made at Berlin. 4. Effect upon alliances in western Europe. 5. England's position in the eastern Mediterranean after the occupation of Egypt.

III. Politics of the Later Years. — 1. Russia: (*a*) origin of Nihilism; (*b*) change in the policy of the Russian government. 2. Germany: (*a*) Bismarck's policy of protection and colonial expansion; (*b*) his war on the socialists; (*c*) his laws promoting the welfare of the working people; (*d*) Bismarck's dismissal. 3. France:

(*a*) struggle for control of schools; (*b*) Panama scandal. 4. England: (*a*) Home Rule problem; (*b*) Gladstone's foreign policy; (*c*) "Greater Britain."

IMPORTANT DATES

1873. Prussian May laws. Thiers resigns presidency of France.
1875. Adoption of French constitutional laws.
1878. Congress of Berlin.
1882. Occupation of Egypt by England.
1886. Gladstone's first Home Rule bill.
1890. Bismarck dismissed by the Emperor William II.

FURTHER STUDY

PARAGRAPHS: —

454. Armed Peace: Phillips, 486–491; Seignobos, 818–822; compare Holy Alliance, paragraph **402**.

455. Kulturkampf: Lowell, II., 12 ff.

456. German Legislation: Lowell, I., 243 ff.

457–459. France after the War: Seignobos, 194–216; at length, Coubertin, Hanotaux; Anderson, Nos. 129–133.

460. Italy: Stillman, Ch. 14.

461, 468. Home Rule: Bright, *History of England*, vols. IV., V.; Morley's *Gladstone;* Kendall, No. 132; see paragraphs **259, 265, 287**.

462–463. Eastern Question: Fyffe, Ch. 25; Skrine, 243–265; Seignobos, 823–827; compare Crimean War, paragraphs **428–430**.

464. Nihilism: Skrine, 265–275.

465. Triple Alliance: Seignobos, 827–829.

466. Egypt: Johnston, 231–235; Reinsch, *Col. Gov.;* at length, Milner; compare paragraphs **365, 428**.

467. German Reforms: Seignobos, 498–505; German colonies: Keltie; Johnston, Ch. 14; Reinsch, *World Politics*, 261–268.

468. French Affairs: Seignobos, 216 ff.; English in South Africa, Theal, Ch. 26; Bryce, 157–167.

Additional Reading: Morley's *Gladstone*, 2 vols.; Coubertin, *France under the Third Republic;* Keltie, *Partition of Africa;* Johnston, *Colonization of Africa;* Milner, *English in Egypt;* Theal, *South Africa;* Bryce, *Impressions of South Africa;* Reinsch, *Colonial Government* and *World Politics;* special articles in *Supplement* to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

CHAPTER XXX.

LAST DECADE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

469. The End of the Century. — The last years of the nineteenth century witnessed no wars in Europe save the brief and disastrous campaign of the Greeks against the Turkish empire. Each country kept large armies under constant training, and the greater states of the Continent were grouped in the Triple Alliance and the Dual Alliance. The continuance of peace enabled the nations to build up their industries and to improve the manner of working and of living, especially in great cities, where the rapidly growing population was crowded into unwholesome shops and tenement houses. Such matters were not left to the enterprise or philanthropy of private citizens alone, for the different legislatures began to act on the theory that the government should care "paternally" for the interests of the people. The period of commercial treaties providing for a trade relatively free between different countries came to an end, and each nation, with the exception of England, sought to protect its own markets against the competition of foreign merchants and manufacturers. At the same time each tried to advance the business of its merchants, particularly with outlying parts of the world like Asia and Africa.

470. The Home Rule Question. — Gladstone was over eighty years old when a new Liberal victory at the general elections of 1892 gave him another opportunity to attempt a settlement of the Irish question. The task was difficult, for unless the members for Ireland joined his party, he could not muster a majority. This was likely to decrease the popularity of his proposals in England, a majority of the English members being

opposed to a grant of Home Rule. It would also embolden the House of Lords to reject the bill, even if it obtained a majority in the Commons. Gladstone's own followers were divided into groups, each of which preferred its pet measures to those advocated by other groups. Nevertheless, he persisted. In the plan which he brought forward he proposed that Ireland should have a parliament authorized to levy taxes, pass laws, provide for education, and control the police. Eighty Irish members were still to sit at Westminster, with the right to vote upon matters which concerned the empire, though not upon the affairs of Scotland or of England. After a long and excited discussion the bill passed the House by 34 majority. A week later it was thrown out by the Lords by a vote of 419 to 41. Gladstone could have dissolved parliament and have appealed to the electors for a majority large enough to overawe the House of Lords, but there was no likelihood that he would obtain such a majority, and he took up other parts of his programme. In March, 1894, after he had passed a bill granting a measure of local self-government to the parishes, completing the work begun by the Salisbury government in its County Councils Act, he resigned his position as prime minister and withdrew from public life. At a general election shortly after his



WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.

Born, 1809; died, 1898. Educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford. Entered parliament in 1832; became a member of the cabinet in 1843; prime minister for the first time in 1868.

retirement the Liberals were decisively defeated, proving that the Lords had been interpreters of public sentiment on the question of Home Rule. During the last years of the century the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists remained in power chiefly because the Liberals had no great leader nor any popular programme.

471. Germany under William II. — In Germany the Emperor William II. sought by constant appeals to the loyalty of the army to check the growth of the Social Democratic party, which, nevertheless, by 1900 controlled over two million votes. A new party called the Agrarians also forced itself to the front. It was composed chiefly of landowners, who were alarmed at the fall in the price of agricultural produce, while the prices of manufactured articles were steadily increasing. In 1892 German trade was seriously threatened by the new high tariffs of France and the United States, and the government tried to enlarge its remaining markets by arranging commercial treaties with Austria-Hungary, Italy, Belgium, and other states. Two years later a similar treaty was made with Russia, in spite of the opposition of the new party, which cried out that if the duties on grain were lowered, cheap Russian wheat would drive German wheat from the market. The Agrarians, however, were strong enough to force from the government many concessions, notably the exclusion of certain American food products. The opening of a ship canal from Kiel to the Elbe River, connecting the North and the Baltic seas, strengthened German trade, and made simpler the defence of the German coast. The government did not relax its zeal in securing markets outside of Europe for the investment of capital or for the sale of goods. Using as a pretext the murder of two missionaries, it compelled the Chinese to cede, in 1898, on a ninety-nine-year lease, the bay of Kiao-Chau, with a protectorate over the Kwantung peninsula. It was at the close of the century that the separate states were bound still more closely to the empire by the adoption of a common code of civil law, and by codes of civil and criminal procedure. The

work of 1871 had become established upon unshakable foundations.

472. French Politics. — Ever since the commercial treaty between Napoleon III. and England, France had placed only low tariffs upon imports. She now abandoned this policy. In 1892 a ministry, supported by the farmers and by the manu-



PALAIS BOURBON.

Now the palace of the French Chamber of Deputies. It was begun in 1722 by the Dowager Duchess of Bourbon and extended by the Prince of Condé after 1770. Became national property during the Revolution. It was transformed into an assembly hall for the Council of Five Hundred. This view is from the court.

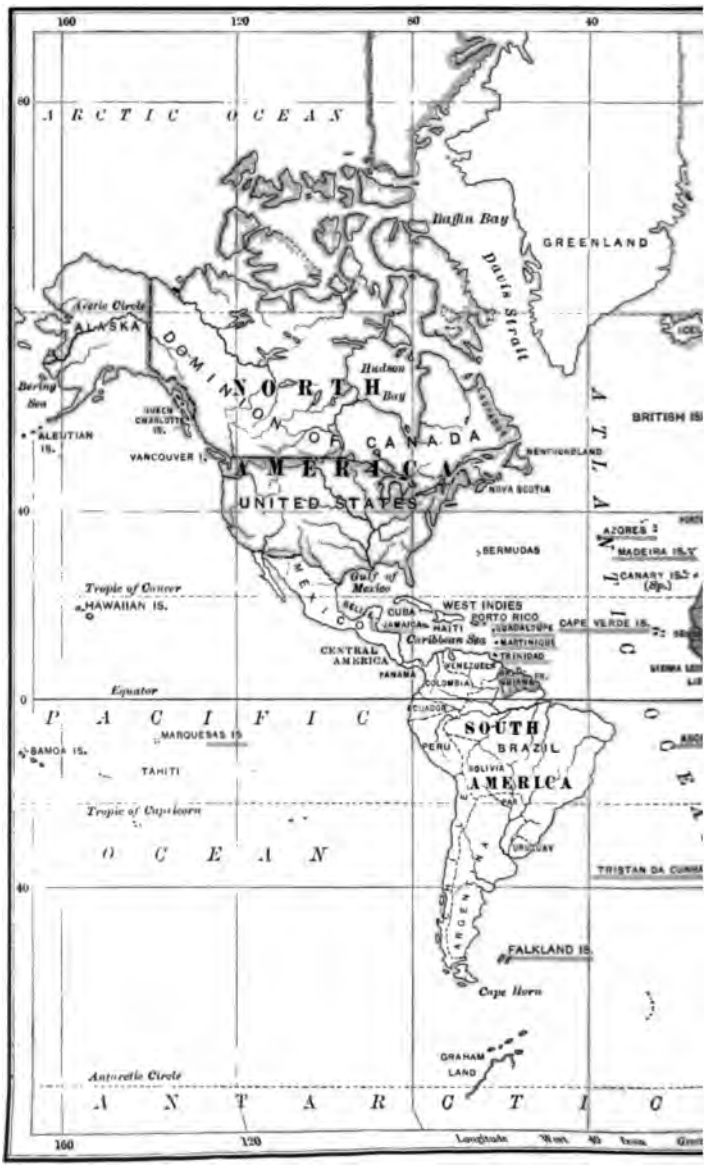
facturers, chiefly of the north and east, carried through a scheme of a high maximum and a more moderate minimum tariff, the minimum tariff to be conceded only on goods of countries which granted similar favors to French trade. The result was a series of tariff wars after which France was obliged to concede the minimum rates to important countries. As in Germany, the socialist groups steadily gained in numbers so that they were granted a representative in the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry,

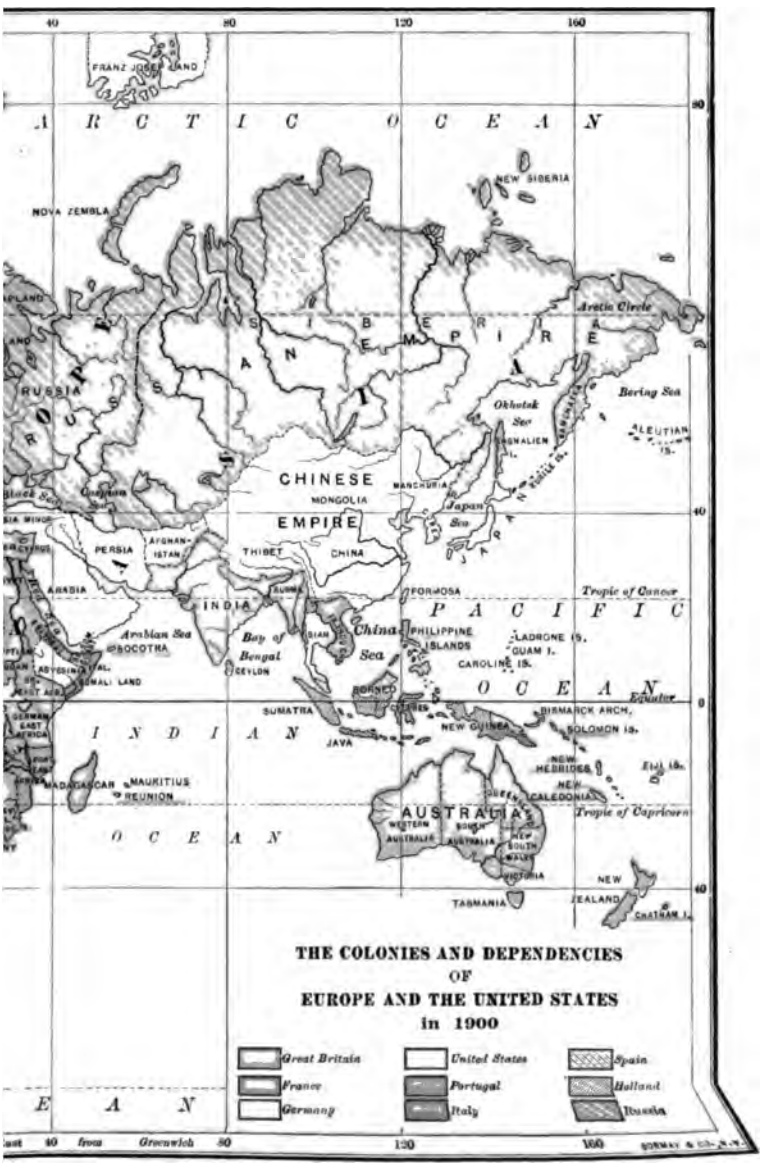
formed in 1899. During these years the French people were divided into two factions by the question of the guilt or innocence of Captain Dreyfus, accused of selling military secrets to the Germans. He was apparently the victim of the misdeeds of another man. After he had been imprisoned a long time, the highest courts decided that there was no sound evidence against him and ordered a new trial. Although a court-martial again declared him guilty, President Loubet immediately pardoned him. This controversy was hardly ended when another began over the influence which the Catholic Church had gained upon education through its schools, in which the teachers were monks or nuns.

473. The Dual Alliance. — The position of France in Europe was strengthened by the formation of an alliance with Russia in 1894 or 1895. This alliance was called the Dual Alliance in distinction from the Triple Alliance which continued to bind Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. Its terms were kept a profound secret. The world could only guess its nature from the visits made by the tsar to France or by the French president to Russia, and by the use of such phrases as "Friends and allies" in the speeches of president or tsar. This alliance acted as another "League of Peace," each ally endeavoring to restrain the other when a controversy arose which by bringing war upon one might involve the other.

474. The Armenian Atrocities. — Although every European state endeavored to increase and perfect its army and navy as if it were about to attack its neighbors or expected to be attacked by them, the desire of all for continuance of peace steadily grew. This became evident when a new series of disorders and outrages within the Turkish empire, from 1893 to 1896, failed to bring about a vigorous intervention by the "Great Powers." The Armenians had been bitterly disappointed that the promises of reform made by the sultan in 1878, and which Russia's opponents had pretended to believe, had never been carried out. A revolutionary party hoped that if massacres like the Bulgarian atrocities were provoked, Europe would force the sultan to keep




160
120
80
40
60
ARCTIC OCEAN
Baffin Bay
GREENLAND
Davis Strait
Arctic Circle
ALASKA
DOMINION OF CANADA
Hudson Bay
Bering Sea
QUEEN CHARLOTTE IS.
ALEUTIAN IS.
VANCOUVER I.
NEWFOUNDLAND
NOVA SCOTIA
BRITISH IS
AMERICA
UNITED STATES
40
BERMUDAS
AZORES
MADEIRA IS.
CANARY IS.
Tropic of Cancer
HAWAIIAN IS.
Gulf of Mexico
MEXICO
BELIZE
CUBA
JAMAICA
HAITI
WEST INDIES
PORTO RICO
GUADALOUPE
CAPE VERDE IS.
Caribbean Sea
MARTINIQUE
TRINIDAD
CENTRAL AMERICA
PANAMA
VENEZUELA
COLOMBIA
GUIANA
Equator
0
PACIFIC OCEAN
ECUADOR
SOUTH AMERICA
PERU
BRAZIL
BOLIVIA
PARAGUAY
URUGUAY
MARQUESAS IS.
SAMOA IS.
TAHITI
Tropic of Capricorn
TRISTAN DA CUNHA
40
ARGENTINA
FALKLAND IS.
Cape Horn
GRAHAM LAND
Antarctic Circle
ANTARCTIC
160
120
Longitude


40
80
120
160
FRANZ JOSEF LAND
ARCTIC OCEAN
NEW SIBERIA
NOVA ZEMBLA
Arctic Circle
RUSSIA
SIBERIA
Bering Sea
Okhotsk Sea
ALEUTIAN Is.
CHINESE EMPIRE
MONGOLIA
MANCHURIA
Japan Sea
Caspian Sea
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
THIBET
CHINA
ARABIA
INDIA
FORMOSA
Tropic of Cancer
PACIFIC OCEAN
Arabian Sea
SOCOTRA
Bay of Bengal
CEYLON
SIAM
China Sea
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
LADRONE Is.
GUAM I.
CAROLINE Is.
Equator
SUMATRA
BORNEO
JAVA
NEW GUINEA
BISMARCK ARCH.
SOLOMON Is.
NEW HEBRIDES
Fiji Is.
NEW CALEDONIA
INDIAN OCEAN
MADAGASCAR
MAURITIUS
REUNION
AUSTRALIA
Tropic of Capricorn
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
NEW SOUTH WALES
VICTORIA
TASMANIA
NEW ZEALAND
CHATHAM Is.
THE COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES
OF
EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES
in 1900
Great Britain
France
Germany
United States
Portugal
Italy
Spain
Holland
Russia
from Greenwich



his promises. The Austrians, without whose coöperation the western Powers could accomplish nothing, believed that the interests of the Powers themselves in any settlement of the Turkish question were so different that intervention was more likely to lead to war between European states than to relief of the Armenians. Consequently Europe watched in impotent horror the massacres in which more than twenty-five thousand Armenians perished. The English felt particularly humiliated, because but for English interference with Russia's plans in 1878 the Armenians would have been under the protection of Russia.

475. Egypt and the Soudan. — Neither Gladstone nor his successors had been able to keep England's promise to withdraw her troops from Egypt without endangering not only the work that had been done, but also the route to India by way of the Suez Canal. They concluded to continue the work and to recover for Egypt the control of the Soudan lost in the insurrection led by a Mohammedan fanatic named the Mahdi and by his successor the Kalifa. Preparations for the campaign of reconquest were completed by 1896. It was necessary to move forward at once if the Soudan was to be recovered, for other hands were already stretched out toward this important territory, which included the basin of the upper Nile and controlled the water supply of Egypt. On the east the king of Abyssinia had just asserted his independence of the Italians, who had established a colony on the Red Sea and who were friendly toward the English. On the west the French, under Colonel Marchand, were advancing, in order to add part of the upper Nile basin to the vast territories they held in the region of the Congo. The greatest difficulty was the lack of money, for several European governments besides England had a voice in the management of Egyptian finances, in order to insure the repayment of debts which a former khedive had contracted. These governments wished to keep England from gaining a firmer foothold in Egypt, and they declined to allow the use of the general reserve fund for war expenses. Consequently the English treasury was drawn upon for a part of the money.

When the advance began it was a campaign against the desert as much as against the Kalifa. One of the greatest triumphs was the building of a railway across the Nubian desert, a distance of two hundred and thirty miles, saving a river journey of six hundred miles including the fourth cataract. The hardest fighting was in 1898. The forces of the Kalifa were twice defeated and he was finally killed. Before the campaign was over the English commander, Sir Herbert Kitchener, steamed up the Nile to Fashoda where he found Colonel Marchand with a small body of Senegalese. Kitchener raised the British flag farther south and established one or two military posts in the neighborhood. The French government reluctantly consented to draw their frontier line west of the Nile basin. Since the English had paid part of the war expenses, it was decided that the Soudan should be under the joint rule of Egypt and England. This made England's position in the Nile Valley more secure.

476. The Boer War. — Meanwhile in the far south a quarrel had broken out between the Boers of the South African Republic, supported by the Orange Free State, and the British government over the rights of Englishmen who were mining gold at Johannesburg. The Boers concluded that the English were plotting to despoil them of their independence, and in October, 1899, began the war. The struggle outlived the century, but the British were victorious. With the excuse that the Boers had attempted to annex a portion of their territory at the opening of the war, they used their victory to destroy the two republics and to bring all South Africa under the British flag.

477. The End of the Spanish Colonial Empire. — While England was adding to her imperial domain, her ancient rival Spain lost the last remnants of a once splendid colonial empire. For years Cuba and the Philippines had been in a state of chronic insurrection. Spain attempted to preserve for her merchants the profits of Cuban trade, although the Cubans found in the United States the best market for the sale of their sugar

and tobacco and the purchase of flour and machinery. A new rebellion broke out in 1895 and could not be suppressed without resorting to cruelties which shocked the people of the United States. While the American government was negotiating with Spain, endeavoring to procure a change of policy, the United States ship *Maine* was blown up in Havana harbor. Although it was not proven that this was the work of the Spaniards, it so embittered the controversy that war between Spain and the United States ensued, April, 1898. The speedy victory of the Americans led to the recognition of Cuba as an independent state under the protection of the United States and the cession to the United States of Porto Rico and the Philippines.

478. The Far East. — In 1900 the European states united in an expedition against Peking, where their legations were besieged by the Chinese. A Japanese force also accompanied the Europeans. This was the sequel of events which had been succeeding one another rapidly for several years. The first was a war between China and Japan for the control of Korea. When the Japanese were victorious they demanded the cession of the peninsula of Liao-Tung with the harbor of Port Arthur. At this the Russians, supported by the Germans and the French, intervened, and the Japanese were obliged to content themselves with Formosa. Shortly afterward came the cession to the Germans of Kiao-Chau, which was followed by the similar cession of Port Arthur to the Russians. The Russians had also obtained the right to continue the Trans-Siberian railway across northern Manchuria to the port of Vladivostock and to connect this road with Port Arthur. This growth of Russian power alarmed the English who had long controlled European trade with China. They sought to guard their interests by leasing Wei-hai-wei, opposite Port Arthur and like it commanding the entrance to the gulf of Pitchili. Foreign capitalists saw in this attempt of European states to partition the lands of a great but helpless people an opportunity to enrich themselves by building railways and developing China's natural resources.

The Chinese looked on, full of distrust and hatred. Unable to defend themselves, as had the Japanese, by reorganizing their own country and by becoming strong enough to be feared, they vented their fury upon missionaries, and attacked the foreign ambassadors in the legations at Peking. Partly because China was so helpless, the European states called the outbreak not a war but an insurrection led by a secret society named the Boxers, and after they had restored order demanded simply the punishment of the rebels and an indemnity for themselves. This was not the end of the affair, for the Chinese army had attacked the Russians on the Siberian frontier and the Russians in turn had occupied all Manchuria. A serious question remained for the new century to answer. The Japanese regarded the Russian occupation of Manchuria as endangering Korea, which they had delivered from Chinese influence and which they wished to open to their own trade, if not to their political control.

479. Greater Europe. — Japan remained the only land not settled or controlled by Europeans or their descendants. The empire of European Christendom was thus far greater than had been the Roman Empire of the fourth century. Even Japan had accepted those features of European civilization which would enable her to increase her industrial wealth and arm herself effectively against the covetousness of other nations or to further her own ambitions. One advantage of so vast a domain was that Europe was not threatened, as was the Roman Empire, with attack from barbarous tribes who might look with eager desire upon the wealth that luxurious cities had amassed. Toward the close of the century the Tsar Nicholas II. of Russia publicly deplored the constant increase of armies and navies and urged the assemblage of a peace congress which should seek a remedy. Although his words were treated at first with ridicule, the Peace Congress met at The Hague in May, 1899. It resulted in the establishment of an international Court of Arbitration, where disputes, which in other days would have led to war, might be argued calmly before unprejudiced judges.

There still remained questions upon which the differences of nations were so great that they could be settled only through diplomacy or war.

480. The Cost of New Europe. — The wars of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries had left in most European states a heavy debt for future generations to carry or to pay. In 1900 the debt of France was equal to six billions of dollars, of Italy to two and a half billions, of England to three billions. Such debts in the eighteenth century would have led to bankruptcy. It was a much smaller burden that had brought on the French Revolution. And yet in each of these countries the burden has been borne cheerfully, because with the founding of representative government the expenditures have been decided upon or at least approved by the taxpayers, instead of being imposed by a distant and irresponsible group of court officials.

481. The Organization of Industry. — The industrial revolution substituting the factory system for the domestic system of manufacture had changed the relations of employer and employees. Employees were grouped together in large factories, rarely knowing their employers, whereas under the old system they had lived and worked with them. The Revolution in France and the gradual change of laws in other countries had given greater freedom to employees. They could work where and for whom they pleased. They also could combine among themselves to force from their employers higher wages or better workshops. Some of this freedom the workmen gave up in order that they might unite for more effective action. Their associations were called trade-unions. As these multiplied, the struggles between employer and employee by means of strikes became more frequent. Gradually it became customary in many trades for the employer to make a contract with the union instead of with individual workmen. This seemed to be a return, under another form, toward the restricted freedom granted to workmen under the old guild system of labor. The employers also, in their struggles with

one another to control the markets, united in larger companies or corporations, sometimes attempting to establish a monopoly of the whole industry or trade. This also was a step away from the new freedom conquered by the Revolution. There were signs of a different organization of industry, a combination of capitalist and workman in coöperative production, in which the profits of the enterprise should be fairly distributed to all engaged in it.

482. The Commonwealth of Peoples. — Although at the end of the centuries which separate us from the later Romans men are grouped into rival, almost hostile, nations, though within the same nation they struggle fiercely for the gains of industry or trade, there is a commonwealth to which more than ever before they all belong. Of this commonwealth the leaders are the great artists, the poets, the prophets of a higher ideal, the teachers of a better way to live. They are not, as in the days of Rome's fall, a little band, crowded back by the rising flood of barbarism. They have communicated to hosts of people some love of beauty and truth, and have inspired them with a generous resolution to hand down the heritage undiminished to the children of the coming time. Through the schools and the universities, through libraries and churches, civilization is now more effectively defended than long ago by the Roman legions encamped along the frontiers of the Rhine and the Danube.

SUMMARY

I. Politics in England, Germany, and France. — 1. England: (*a*) divisions among Gladstone's Home Rule party; (*b*) why Gladstone, after the defeat of the bill in the Lords, did not appeal to the country; loss of influence by the Liberal party. 2. Germany: (*a*) the Social Democratic party; (*b*) the Agrarians; (*c*) new colonial possessions. 3. France: (*a*) tariff policy; (*b*) growth of socialist parties; (*c*) Dreyfus case.

II. International Politics. — 1. The Dual Alliance. 2. The Armenian massacres; the reason Europe did not intervene. 3. England in Egypt: (*a*) the necessity for the recovery of the Soudan;

(*b*) attitude of other powers; (*c*) the Fashoda affair; (*d*) result of the expedition. 4. The Boer war, its causes and its results. 5. Spain loses Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. 6. The Boxer outbreak: (*a*) the reasons for Chinese hatred of foreigners; (*b*) the attack on the legations at Peking and the relief expedition; (*c*) the Russian-Japanese rivalry.

III. The New Europe. — 1. Its extent. 2. Its means of settling controversies. 3. Public debts. 4. Changes in industrial life, combinations of laborers or of capitalists. 5. The outlook.

IMPORTANT DATES

1893. Defeat of Gladstone's second Home Rule bill.
1898. Recovery of the Soudan by the Anglo-Egyptian army. War between United States and Spain.
1900. Boxer outbreak in China.

FURTHER STUDY

General Reading: Fisher, *Outlines of Universal History*, 618–631.

Paragraphs: —

470. Home Rule again: Kendall, No. 133; see paragraphs **461**, **468**.
471. Germany: *Encyclopædia Britannica*, supplement, article "Germany."
472. French Politics: Seignobos, 216–221; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, supplement, "France."
473. Dual Alliance: Seignobos, 828–831.
474. Armenia: *Encyclopædia Britannica*, supplement, "Armenia."
475. Egypt: compare **466** and references; Kendall, Nos. 148, 149, 150.
476. The Boers: compare **468** and references; see also previous history of South Africa, **365**.
477. Spanish Colonial Empire: its history in 1825, in 1713, in the sixteenth century; see paragraphs **403**, **295**, **191**.
478. Far East: Japanese war, Douglas, Ch. 16; Boxer outbreak, Douglas, Ch. 17; Reinsch, *World Politics*, part 2.
479. Greater Europe: Reinsch, *World Politics*, part 1; Hague Tribunal: Reinsch, 22–23; Phillips, 544–545.
480. Public Debts: *Statesman's Year Book* (annual).
481. Industry: Cunningham, II., 254 ff.

Additional Reading: Reinsch, *World Politics;* Douglas, *Europe and the Far East.*

Review, Chs. 25–30; period, 1815–1900: unification of Italy and Germany, disintegration of the Turkish empire, development of colonial empires, organization of trade and industry, growth of parliamentary democratic government, betterment of the condition of the common people.

Special Reviews: —

I. Geographical Changes. — 1. Prussian annexations. 2. Reorganization of the German empire. 3. Alsace-Lorraine acquired for Germany. 4. Sardinia develops into the kingdom of Italy, Austria loses Lombardy and Venetia, end of the States of the Church and of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. 5. Belgium established. 6. Rumania, Servia, and Greece become independent kingdoms. 7. New colonial possessions of England, France, and Germany; Spain's loss of her colonial empire in America and the Philippines.

II. Economic Changes. — 1. Industry: (*a*) development of factory system; (*b*) laws regulating labor of women and children; (*c*) workmen's insurance. 2. Trade: (*a*) tendency in England toward repeal of Navigation Acts and reduction of tariffs; (*b*) Prussian customs union; (*c*) commercial treaties; (*d*) high tariffs and trade conflicts. 3. Transportation: (*a*) roads in France and Germany; (*b*) development of railways and telegraphs. 4. Improvement of social conditions: (*a*) abolition of slavery and serfdom; (*b*) public education.

III. Unification of Italy and Germany. — 1. The obstacle of Austria. 2. Futile attempts in 1848. 3. The influence of the Prussian customs union. 4. The successes of Cavour and Victor Emmanuel, assisted by Napoleon III. 5. The policy of Bismarck and his management of the Schleswig-Holstein affair. 6. Prussia and Italy unite to attack Austria: result, North German Confederation, annexation of Venetia to Italy. 7. The Franco-Prussian war, the opportunity to complete German and Italian unity.

IV. The conflicts in France over the organization of the central government.

V. The reform movement in England, leading to parliamentary democracy and better social conditions.

APPENDIX

GENERAL LIST OF BOOKS

This list contains the titles of books mentioned by author's name under "Further Study" and others convenient for reference or for further reading. The larger works mentioned in "Additional Reading" are not included. Books of special interest or utility are marked *.

*Adams, G. B., *Civilization During the Middle Ages.* Scribners.

*Adams, G. B., *Growth of the French Nation.* Macmillan.

Adams, G. B., and H. M. Stephens, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History.* Macmillan.

Alzog, J., *Universal Church History.* 3 vols. Clarke.

*Andrews, C. M., *Colonial Self-government.* Harpers.

Andrews, C. M., *Historical Development of Modern Europe.* Student's ed. Putnams.

*Andrews, C. M., *History of England.* Allyn and Bacon.

*Archer, T. A., and C. L. Kingsford, *The Crusades.* Putnams.

Archer, T. A., *Crusade of Richard I.* (contemporary accounts). Putnams.

Bain, R. N., *Denmark and Scandinavia since 1513.* Cambridge University Press.

Balzani, U., *The Popes and the Hohenstaufen.* Longmans.

Barry, W., *The Papal Monarchy.* Putnams.

*Beazley, C. R., *Prince Henry the Navigator.* Putnams.

Beesly, E. S., *Queen Elizabeth.* Macmillan.

*Bémont, C., and G. Monod, *Mediæval Europe, 395–1270.* Holt.

Besant, W., *Gaspard de Coligny.* American Book Co.

Blok, P. J., *History of the People of the Netherlands.* 3 vols. Putnams.

Bourinot, J. G., *Canada under British Rule.* Cambridge University Press.

*Bourne, E. G., *Spain in America.* Harpers.

*Bright, J. F., *History of England.* 5 vols. Longmans.

Bright, J. F., *Maria Theresa. Joseph II.* Macmillan.

Brown, H. F., *Venetian Republic* (Temple Primers). Macmillan.

Brown, P. H., *History of Scotland.* 2 vols. Cambridge University Press.

*Bryce, J., *Holy Roman Empire.* New ed. Macmillan.
Bulfinch, T., *Age of Chivalry.* Lee and Shepard.
Burke, U. R., *History of Spain* (to 1516). 2 vols. Longmans.
*Bury, J. B., *History of the Later Roman Empire.* 2 vols. Macmillan.
Cambridge Modern History (already published, *The Renaissance, The Reformation, The Wars of Religion, The French Revolution*). Macmillan.
Carlyle, T., *French Revolution.* 3 vols. Fletcher ed., Putnams. Rose ed., Macmillan.
Cesaresco, E. M., *Cavour.* Macmillan.
Cesaresco, E. M., *Liberation of Italy, 1815–1870.* Scribners.
*Cheyney, E. P., *Social and Industrial History of England.* Macmillan.
*Cheyney, E. P., *The European Background.* Harpers.
Chronicles of the Crusades. Bell.
Church, A. J., *Early Britain.* Putnams.
*Colby, C. W., *Selections from the Sources of English History.* Longmans.
Compayré, G., *Abelard.* Scribners.
*Cornish, F. W., *Chivalry.* Macmillan.
Creighton, Louise, *Duke of Marlborough.* Longmans.
*Creighton, M., *Age of Elizabeth.* Longmans.
Creighton, M., *Simon de Montfort.* Longmans.
Cunningham, W., *Western Civilization.* 2 vols. Cambridge University Press.
Cunningham, W., and E. A. McArthur, *Outlines of English Industrial History.* Macmillan.
Dill, Samuel, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Empire.* Macmillan.
Douglas, R. K., *Europe and the Far East.* Cambridge University Press.
Droysen, G., *Historischer Handatlas.*
Duffy, B., *The Tuscan Republics.* Putnams.
Durham, F. H., *English History illustrated from Original Sources, 1399–1485.* Black.
Duruy, V., *Modern Times.* Holt.
Duruy, V., *The Middle Ages.* Holt.
Egerton, H. E., *Origin and Growth of English Colonies.* Oxford University Press.
*Eginhard (Einhard), *Life of Charlemagne.* American Book Company.
*Emerton, E., *Erasmus.* Putnams.
*Emerton, E., *Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages.* Ginn.
*Emerton, E., *Mediæval Europe.* Ginn.
*Feilden, H. St. C., *Constitutional History.* Ginn.

FIGGIS, J. N., *English History illustrated from Original Sources, 1660–1715.* Black.

*FIRTH, C., *Oliver Cromwell.* Putnams.

FISHER, G. P., *History of the Christian Church.* Scribners.

FLETCHER, C. R. L., *Gustavus Adolphus.* Putnams.

*FOURNIER, A., *Napoleon the First.* ed. Bourne. Holt.

FRAZER, N. L., *English History illustrated from Original Sources, 1307–1399.* Black.

FREEMAN, E. A., *Historical Geography of Europe.* 2 vols. Bury ed. Longmans.

FREEMAN, E. A., *Short History of the Norman Conquest.* Oxford University Press.

FREEMAN, E. A., *William the Conqueror.* Macmillan.

*FROISSART, Lanier's *Boy's Froissart.* Scribners.

*FYFFE, C. A., *History of Modern Europe.* One vol. ed. Holt.

*GARDINER, B. M. (Mrs. S. R.), *French Revolution.* Longmans.

GARDINER, S. R., *Oliver Cromwell.* Longmans.

*GARDINER, S. R., *Puritan Revolution.* Longmans.

GARDINER, S. R., *School Atlas of English History.* Longmans.

*GARDINER, S. R., *Students' History of England.* Longmans.

GARDINER, S. R., *Thirty Years' War.* Longmans.

GEORGE, H. B., *Genealogical Tables.* Rev. ed. Oxford University Press.

*GIBBINS, H. DEB., *History of Commerce in Europe.* Macmillan.

GIBBINS, H. DEB., *Industrial History of England.* Scribners.

GILMAN, A., *The Saracens.* Putnams.

GRANT, A. J., *The French Monarchy.* 2 vols. Cambridge University Press.

GREEN, Mrs. J. R., *Henry II.* Macmillan.

*GREEN, J. R., *Short History of the English People.* American Book Company. Illustrated ed. Harpers.

GRIFFIS, W. E., *Child's History of Holland.* Houghton, Mifflin.

GUMMERE, F. B., *Germanic Origins.* Scribners.

*HARRISON, F., *William the Silent.* Macmillan.

HARRISON, W., *Elizabethan England* (Camelot series). Scott.

HASSALL, A., *European History, 476–1871.* Macmillan.

HASSALL, A., *Louis XIV.* Putnams.

HASSALL, A., *The Balance of Power, European History, 1715–1789.* Macmillan.

HAÜSSER, L., *Period of the Reformation.* American Tract Society.

HEADLAM, J. W., *Bismarck.* Putnams.

*HENDERSON, E. F., *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages.* Bell.

*HENDERSON, E. F., *Short History of Germany.* 2 vols. Macmillan.

HENDERSON, E. F., *Side Lights on English History.* Holt.

HIGGINSON, T. W., and E. CHANNING, *English History for Americans.* Longmans.

HILL, MABEL, *Liberty Documents.* Longmans.

*HODGKIN, T., *Charles the Great.* Putnams.

HODGKIN, T., *The Dynasty of Theodosius.* Oxford University Press.

*HODGKIN, T., *Theodoric.* Putnams.

*HUME, M. A. S., *Philip II.* Macmillan.

*HUME, M. A. S., *Spain, its Greatness and Decay* (from 1479). Cambridge University Press.

HUNT, WILLIAM, *History of Italy.* Macmillan.

*HUNTER, W. W., *Short History of the Indian Peoples.* Macmillan.

HUTTON, W. H., *Philip Augustus.* Macmillan.

JACKSON, S. M., *Zwingli.* Putnams.

JACOBS, JOSEPH, *Story of Geographical Discovery.* Appleton.

JENKS, EDWARD, *The Australasian Colonies.* Cambridge University Press.

JESSOPP, A., *The Coming of the Friars.* Putnams.

JOHNSON, A. H., *The Normans in Europe.* Longmans.

*JOHNSON, A. H., *Europe in the Sixteenth Century.* Macmillan.

JOHNSTON, H. H., *The Colonization of Africa.* Cambridge University Press.

*JONES, GUERNSEY, *Civilization during the Middle Ages* (selected sources). Ainsworth.

JUDSON, H. P., *Europe in the Nineteenth Century.* Flood and Vincent.

KEARY, C. F., *The Vikings in Western Christendom.* Putnams.

*KENDALL, E. K., *Source Book of English History.* Macmillan.

KITCHIN, G. W., *History of France.* 3 vols. Oxford University Press.

*KÖSTLIN, J., *Life of Luther.* Scribners.

LABBERTON, R. H., *Historical Atlas.* Silver, Burdett.

LANE-POOLE, STANLEY, *Speeches and Table-Talk of the Prophet Mohammed.* Macmillan.

*LAURIE, WILLIAM, *Rise of the Universities.* Appleton.

LAVISSE, E., *Political History of Europe.* Longmans.

LECKY, W. E. H., *The French Revolution.* ed. Bourne. Appleton.

LEE, G. C., *Source Book of English History.* Holt.

LODGE, R., *The Close of the Middle Ages, 1273–1494.* Macmillan.

LODGE, R., *History of Modern Europe.* American Book Company.

LONGMAN, F. W., *Frederick the Great and the Seven Years' War.* Longmans.

*LOWELL, A. L., *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe.* 2 vols. Houghton, Mifflin.

LOWELL, E. J., *Eve of the French Revolution.* Houghton, Mifflin.

*Lowell, F. C., *Joan of Arc.* Houghton, Mifflin.
Luther, Martin, *Table Talk.* Bohn.
Mabie, H. W., *Norse Stories.* Dodd, Mead.
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